THE SEMA NAGAS

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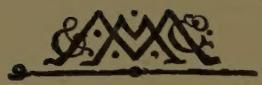

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THE SEMA NAGAS

BY

J. H. HUTTON,

C.I.E., M.A.

(*Indian Civil Service*)

WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

AND A

FOREWORD

BY

HENRY BALFOUR,

M.A., F.S.A., F.R.G.S., F.R.A.I.

Published by direction of the Assam Government

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
ST. MARTIN'S STREET, LONDON
1921

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PREFACE

THE Sema tribe with which this monograph deals is one of the many Naga tribes inhabiting the hills between Assam and Burma. This area has been subjected to emigration from at least three directions—from the north-east, whence came the Tai races; from the north-west, whence came the Singphos, Kacharis, and Garos, among others, and from the south, as the Angami Nagas at any rate came to their present country from that direction, while a migration from the south northwards on the part of the Thado Kukis and Lusheis has barely ceased even now. The Semas, like other Naga tribes, probably contain elements from all these migrations. The account of the Semas given in this book has been compiled at Mokokchung and at Kohima in the Naga Hills, during an eight years' acquaintance with them, during which I have learnt to speak the language fairly fluently and have been brought into contact with the life of the individual, the family, and the community more or less continuously and from many angles. For there is hardly any point of tribal custom which is not sooner or later somehow drawn into one of the innumerable disputes which the local officer in the Naga Hills is called upon to settle, and it is my experiences in this way which constitute my credentials in writing this volume.

There is no previous literature to speak of dealing with the Sema tribe, or even with its language, which was not reduced to writing when I started to learn it. All my sources therefore are original, and all my information is derived directly from members of the tribe either in their own language or in that corrupt *lingua franca* of the hills which bears much the same relation to real Assamese as *bêche de mer* English does to the King's.

I have to thank a number of my friends for the assistance they have given me; in particular Dr. Carter, Economic Botanist to the Government of India, for identifying by their scientific names many plants mentioned in Part II; Mr. J. P. Mills, now Assistant Commissioner at Mokokchung, for the scientific names of many birds referred to in Parts II and VI, as well as directing my attention to other points of interest; Mr. H. C. Barnes, C.I.E., Commissioner of the Surma Valley and Hill Districts, also for directing my attention to several points of Sema custom. Of the illustrations, I am indebted for three photographs to Mr. Butler, of the P.W.D., and for one to Captain Kingdon-Ward, while I have to thank Miss A. M. Grace, of Hove, for the original of the coloured plate. The rest of the illustrations are my own. Last, but far from least, I have to mention my Sema friends who have been the real means of my making what record I could of tribal customs—Vikhepu, Chief of the Ayemi Clan in Seromi, Inato, Chief of Lumitsami, Khupu of Lazemi, Nikiye of Nikiye-nagami, Hezekhu of Sheyepu, Mithihe of Vekohomi, Hoito of Sakhalu, Ivikhu of Lizmi, Inzhevi of Yepthomi, Hoito of Kiyeshe, and many others, but the first five or six in particular. The first four mentioned, as well as Hoito of Sakhalu, are, alas! dead [1] after years of the most loyal service to the Government—the others I hope have long to live, but my indebtedness for information to Vikhepu, four years my personal Sema interpreter at Mokokchung, was particularly great, and his death in the influenza epidemic of 1918 was a grave loss to the district.

I might perhaps here mention that in 1917, when a Labour Corps was raised in the Naga Hills for service in Europe, half of the two thousand Nagas enrolled were Semas, from inside or across the frontier, and not a few of them died in France.

J. H. HUTTON.

[1] Nikiye was most treacherously murdered by a Kālyo-kengyu village across the frontier as this was going to press. Ivikhu has also died since this was written.

CONTENTS

PAGE

FOREWORD xv

PART I

GENERAL

Habitat and affinities—Origin and migrations—Appearance, dress, weapons and character. 1

PART II

DOMESTIC LIFE

The Sema village, site, name, approaches and general features—The home: construction, contents—Art; manufacture; currency—Agriculture; livestock—Hunting and fishing—Food, drink and medicine—Games—Daily life 31

PART III

SOCIAL LIFE

Organisation of society, laws and customs—Exogamy—The "manor"—The village—Property, adoption—Settlement of disputes, war—Women 119

PART IV

RELIGION AND CEREMONIES

Religion: general character of popular beliefs; spirits and deities; the soul and eschatology; religion and magic; hierarchy; ceremonies of the agricultural year; of social status, sickness, etc.; ceremonies of birth, marriage, death, etc.; miscellaneous beliefs, forces of Nature, etc.; calendar. 189

PART V

PAGE

LANGUAGE 263

PART VI

FOLK-LORE 301

APPENDICES

I. Bibliography. II. Sema Migrations and Affinities. III. Reciprocal Table of the Names of Relations. IV. Extract from a Letter on the Subject of the Relations between a Sema Chief and his Dependants. V. The Semas and Mr. Perry's "Megalithic-Culture of Indonesia." VI. Sema Vocabularies. VII. Glossary 371

INDEX 447

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

VIKHEPU, CHIEF OF THE AYEMI CLAN IN SEROMI
Coloured Frontispiece

Facing page

THE SEMA COUNTRY FROM KILOMI VILLAGE . . . 4

MT. TUKAHU (JAPVO) AND THE BARAIL RANGE AS SEEN FROM SEMA COUNTRY 4

MAN OF LAZMI, ASIMI CLAN, DAYANG VALLEY . . . 8

YEZETHA OF AOCHAGALIMI 8

WOMAN OF MISHILIMI VILLAGE, ASIMI CLAN, DAYANG VALLEY 8

SEMA ORNAMENTS 12

THE *Aghaopucho*. 14

SEMA CLOTHS 14

THE SON OF THE CHIEF OF GHUKWI OF GHUKWI-NAGAMI WEARING COTTON WOOL EAR ORNAMENTS . . 16

VIYEKHE OF KIYESHE-NAGAMI 16

WIFE AND CHILD OF THE CHIEF OF LITAMI. 17

DAUGHTER OF THE CHIEF OF PHILIMI WEARING FILLET DENOTING BETROTHAL 17

SEMA CLOTHS SHOWING COWRIES, ETC., SEWN ON . . 18

SPEAR-HEADS 20

SEMA AND OTHER NAGA DAOS USED BY THEM . . . 22

ARROWS AND CROSSBOWS 24

ROTOMI VILLAGE 34

KILOMI VILLAGE SHOWING GRANARIES TO LEFT . . 34

WOODEN SITTING PLATFORM IN FRONT OF CHIEF'S HOUSE —SAKHALU 37

GENNA POSTS (SAKHALU) SHOWING CARVED MITHAN HEADS AND *Aghü-hu* 37

MINIATURE "MORUNG" BUILT AT THE FOUNDING OF THE VILLAGE OF VEDAMI 38

"MORUNG" IN PHILIMI BUILT ON ACCOUNT OF THE BAD HARVEST 1916 38

Facing page

Sema Houses showing House-horns of Wood and of Bamboo with Rattles of Gourds and Bamboos 40

Sema Making Fire 42

Amiphoki 48

Chief's House in Vekohomi Showing King-post . . 48

Sema Woman Spinning (Philimi Village) . . . 50

Sema Woman Weaving (Shitzimi Village) . . . 50

Automatic *Kohkohpfo* for Scaring Birds, etc., from Crops 52

Rough Sketches of Mechanism of Sema Bellows . 52

Making Pots for Food 54

Sema Interior (*Ábishékhoh*) showing *Aboshu* . . . 56

Sema Baskets 56

Wooden Liquor Vat 56

Aghaghübo at alapfumi 64

A Typical Sema 64

Harvesting. 64

Carrying Home the Millet Harvest 64

Implements and Utensils 66

Mithan Bull with Cane for Leading it tied round Horns 69

Sema Mithan (*Avi*) 69

Sema Pipes 100

Asü-pusüke 100

Awoli-sheshe 108

Boy with *Apipi-zhto* and "Ekra" Spear . . . 108

Kitike 110

Sema Dances 110

House of Inato, Chief of Lumitsami, with Y-shaped Genna Posts and the Chief's Widow Keening her dead Husband 116

Woman Washing at the Village Spring. Bamboo "Chungas" for Carrying Water . . . 116

Facing page

Aghü-kutsü-kogho-bo AT KUKISHE CONTAINING THE HEAD OF A MAN 176

Aghüza IN PHILIMI VILLAGE 176

KILLING "MITHAN" AT A *Kupulhukileke* GIVEN BY INATO, CHIEF OF LUMITSAMI 229

A *Thumomi* OF ALAPFUMI 232

A *Thumomi* OF TSIVIKAPUTOMI 232

GRAVES IN FRONT OF A HOUSE AT EMILOMI 245

Atheghwo AT PHILIMI VILLAGE 245

WARRIOR'S GRAVE AT SATAMI 246

GRAVE AND STATUE (IN THE ANGAMI STYLE) OF PHUÏSHE OF VEKOHOMI 246

CELTS FOUND AT OR NEAR SEROMI VILLAGE . . . 254

Anagha SHOWING SCARS MADE BY THE TEETH OF THE MICE OR RATS WITH WHICH IT HAS FOUGHT TO PROTECT THE PADDY 254

IRON BLADES AT PRESENT IN USE AND CELTS FOUND IN SEMA COUNTRY 254

MAPS, ETC.

MAP OF SEMA COUNTRY 3

CHART OF SEMA MIGRATIONS 376

PEDIGREES . . . . . *following* 144

FOREWORD

THE rapid changes which the culture of the 'unrisen' races is undergoing renders urgent the work of the field anthropologist. It is of the utmost importance not only to the Science of Man, but also to responsible officialdom, since a just and enlightened administration of native affairs cannot be established and pursued without an intimate knowledge of and sympathetic interest in the natives themselves, their customs and their point of view. Lack of ethnographic knowledge has been responsible for many of the misunderstandings and fatal errors which have tarnished our well-meant endeavours to control wisely and equitably the affairs of those whose culture has been evolved under environments which differ widely from those of civilised peoples.

Hence, we may extend a cordial welcome to a monograph such as is contained in this volume. It follows a number of similar monographs which form a valuable series dealing with various tribes controlled by the Government of Assam, under whose auspices these volumes have been issued. This enlightened policy on the Government's part deserves all praise, and should bring well deserved *kudos*. Apart from their value to ethnologists, these volumes should undoubtedly prove of great service to those whose official duties bring them into contact with the native tribes, and should do much to promote a better understanding and greater trust between the natives and those who are called upon to administer and control their affairs. Encouragement of ethnographical and ethnological research is one of our most crying needs. The material is abundant, since we are responsible for the welfare and progress of

peoples whose very varied culture-status ranges from that of the Stone-age savage to the highest civilisation.

Mr. Hutton's present monograph is the outcome of devoted and intensive study of a primitive people among whom he has lived for several years, and whose difficult language he has been the first to master. His sympathy with the natives has won for him their confidence to an unusual extent, and his success in overcoming their prejudices and suspicion has been invaluable to him in his study of their habits and their thoughts. The book in which he sums up his researches will have a permanent value as a record of a tribe of Nagas having a special interest, inasmuch as they exhibit in many respects a more rudimentary culture than do the neighbouring Angamis, Aos and Lhotas. That their culture will undergo rapid changes for better or worse goes without saying, since contact with civilisation is already showing its effect. Some of the Semas have recently travelled far afield to ' do their bit ' in the labour-corps of our Army. In September, 1917, in Eastern France, I came across a gang of Nagas, many of them, no doubt, Mr. Hutton's own *protégés*, engaged in road-repairing in the war-zone, within sound of the guns. They appeared to be quite at home and unperturbed. Earlier in that year I just missed seeing them in Bizerta, but the French authorities there described to me their self-possession and absence of fear when they were landed after experiencing shipwreck in the Mediterranean—a truly novel experience for these primitive inland hill-dwellers !

One wonders what impressions remain with them from their sudden contact with higher civilisations at war. Possibly, they are reflecting that, after what they have seen, the White Man's condemnation of the relatively innocuous head-hunting of the Nagas savours of hypocrisy. Or does their *sang-froid* save them from being critical and endeavouring to analyse the seemingly inconsequent habits of the leading peoples of culturedom ? Now that they are back in their own hills, will they settle down to the indigenous simple life and revert to the primitive conditions which were temporarily disturbed ? Will they be content

to return to the innumerable *genna* prohibitions and restrictions, which for centuries have militated against industrial progress ?

Interesting though it will be to follow the effects of culture-contact with the more advanced European peoples, it is the *indigenous* culture of the Nagas which is best worth investigating, and it should be studied intensively and without delay, before the inevitable changes have wrought complete havoc with the material for research.

The general status of and the distinctive features observable in the culture of each Naga tribe and community have an intrinsic interest for the ethnographer ; but the descriptive material, when collated, affords scope for a wider *comparative* study of the affinities and divergences to be noted in the habits, beliefs, arts and industries of the several groups of Nagas, enabling the regional ethnologist to investigate the inter-tribal relationships and communications, and to trace the local migrations of the various ethnic sections and sub-sections together with their cultures. And, further, the details recorded of particular tribes furnish *data* for the elucidation of the still wider problem of the position which the hill-tribes of Assam occupy in the great Indo-Chinese race, their relationship to the Indonesians and even to some of the natives of the South Pacific area. This important line of research, ranging as it does far afield, comes within the province of the general comparative ethnologist, who is expected to place the Nagas and their culture in true ethnological perspective.

I must not dwell upon this point in detail. I merely wish to point out that to the ethnologist, as well as to the administrator of native affairs, Mr. Hutton's careful and first-hand description of the Semas, as also his monograph upon the Angamis, will prove of great value. Such work is a worthy sequel to the earlier researches of Colonel R. G. Woodthorpe, Dr. Grierson, Mr. S. E. Peal, and other pioneers in the study of the ethnography of the Naga Hills.

During his eight years of official contact with the hill-tribes Mr. Hutton made a very fine and valuable ethnographical collection, the greater part of which he has most

generously presented to the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford; a very important gift to his old University. It is regrettable that the high cost of publication has imposed a limit upon the number of illustrations in his book, the value of which would have been greatly enhanced by a full series of figures of the objects described, most of which are represented in Mr. Hutton's collection.

One may congratulate the author upon the keen enthusiasm which has prompted him to make full use of his opportunities and to occupy the scanty leisure moments afforded by a busy official life in the scientific study of his human environment. The results of his researches form a record which will have a permanent value.

Personally, I have much to thank Mr. Hutton for, and, *inter alia*, I thank him for having invited me to act as godfather to a book which will, I feel sure, command the appreciation and respect of ethnologists and very many others.

HENRY BALFOUR.

Oxford, 1921.

THE SEMA NAGAS

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PART I

GENERAL

HABITAT AND AFFINITIES—ORIGIN AND MIGRATIONS—
APPEARANCE, DRESS, WEAPONS, AND CHARACTER

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MAP TO SHOW LOCATION
OF THE
SEMA NAGAS
Sema Villages underlined in Yellow are partly Yachumi
Sema Villages underlined in Blue are partly Chang
Sema Villages underlined in Green are partly Tukomi
Villages of other tribes underlined in Red are partly Sema
Direction of Sema Migration from South
Direction of Sema Migration traditional
95°
26°
AO
CHANG
KONYAK
KALYO-KENGYU
LHOTA
YACHUMI
SEMA
TRIBE
RENGMA
SANGTAM
(LOPHEMI)
SANGTAM
(TUKOMI)
SOUTH
SANGTAM
NAKED
RENGMA
ANGAMI
TANGKHUL
Mokokchung
Longsa
Wokha
6504
Naruto M.
Naguto M.
6583
Saramati Mt
12,622
Nummu M.
7993
Japvo Mt
9890
Kohima
Lungchung
Mongsemdi
Aliba
Jampang
Cholemsem
Shahapfumi
Woziami
Mekula
Lakhuti
Bhandari
Lishio
Changse
Chedi
Pangti
Nankam
Khebja
Ungma
Sangtam
Shitzimi
Japhumi
Lumami
Are Yanthamo
Are
Chitephumi
Allapfumi
Sapotimi
Lubano
Litsammi
7664
Kiyetha
Kumishe
Azekakemi
Litami
(Nungtang)
Shichemi
Sitemi
Tichipami
Yehimi
Seromi
Yedami
Aochakalimi
Pusimi
Phuyetomi
Phuyemi
Aichisagami
Katsarimi
Satami
Ngozumomi
Yachumi
Mapulimi
Vekohomi
Asakakahemi
Muzuchi
Litsimi
Lochomi
Emilomi
Rotomi
2983
Philimi
4680
Lukheimi
Yezami
Akubami
Lovishe
Shothumi
Kutami
Sukomi
Keleki R.
Baimho
Tokikehimi
Phisami
Sotoemi
Ghukiya
Vihoshe
(Yeputhomi)
Kolhopu
Shehepu
Phezhumi
Lukami
Puromi
Patun
Htango
Champhimi
Kitemi
Rokimi
Sholepu
Sakhalu
Viyekhe
Kukishe
Yezasimi
Nunumi
Moemi
Yemeshe
Kusunasami
Yezuthu
Tukunasami
Zhekiya
Kiyeku
Khukiya
Ghukhwi
Lhoshyepu
Shietzü
Yatsimi
Kitami
Chomi
Tangmong
Seinlao
Makware
Natsümi
Awehimi
Shisilimi
Chisilimi
Chesalomi
Kilomi
Khuivi
Kiyeshe
(Sakhai)
Vishyepu
Mishilimi
Lazemi
Imphuma
Tophima
Gariphima
Imphonomi
Hebulimi
Katsitumi
(Kivekhu)
7680
Ikiya
Ghwokivi
Sitimi
Shiphimi
(Thachumi)
Takiyao
Satoi
Hokiya
Khuvukhu
Setuho
8744
Nahatomi
Chipoketami
Tehephema
Poghotomi
Katsama
Iganumi
(Ingoma)
Nerhamao
Merama
Dzulio R.
Sidzü R.
Cheswezuma
Theniazuma
Puchama
Khonoma
Pholami
Sohemi
Primi
Phozami
Niemi
Melomi
Lapvomi
Swemi
Yasabami
Viswema
Nakromi
Khezakenomi
from Swemi
now Tangkhul
Chingjaroi
Metikumi
Lania R.
Phodung R.
Ti-Ho R.
Matong
Lekaw
Chindwin R.
Minsin
(? - TUKHEMMI)
Chang R.
Chebi R.
Nanga (Dikhu) R.
Yangnu R.
Doiang R.
Tapu (Dhansiri) R.
Tizu R.
Tizu R.
Zuiki R.
Unro R.
Chutho R.
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THE SEMA NAGAS

PART I

GENERAL

HABITAT AND AFFINITIES—ORIGIN AND MIGRATIONS—APPEARANCE, DRESS, WEAPONS, AND CHARACTER

Habitat.

In the former treatise made of the excellent Angamis, a division of the Naga tribes was suggested which grouped the Sĕma tribe with the Angamis, Rengmas, and Lhotas as Western Nagas. The Sĕmas are located to the north-east of the Angami country and at present inhabit the valleys of three large rivers together with the mountain ranges and plateaus that separate their waters. The westernmost of these three rivers is the Dayang, which rises on Japvo in the Angami country, flows north to the Semas, who call it *Tapu*, and eventually, turning west and south, emerges from the hills through to Lhota country, after which it joins the Dhansiri, its waters eventually flowing into the Brahmaputra and so to the Ganges. The other two rivers, rising to the north or north-east of the Sema country, flow southward, mingle their waters in the Lania, and reach the sea by way of the Tī-Hō, the Chindwin, and the Irawadi. The Semas thus occupy part of the watershed that divides Assam from Burma. Of the two latter rivers the western one, the *Tuzü*, generally spoken of as the Tizu, is the boundary of British territory, a gulf fixed between the Semas who live in enforced peace, and their perhaps more fortunate brothers, whose independence enables them to extend gradually eastward as the tribe increases, instead of living in an almost perpetual scarcity owing to the

population being far too large for the land which it occupies. The Tīta, called by the Semas *Tütsa*, has been given as their eastern boundary, but as in the case of Dayang there are a few villages on the far side, and these are steadily pushing east towards the Ti-Ho, so that there will no doubt in time be a large number of Trans-Tita Semas.

The terms *Ghābōmi*[1] (Hot-place-men) and *Azhomi* (Cold-place-men) are sometimes used for the inhabitants of the western low and hot villages, and for those of the more eastern and colder villages respectively.

The Semas are bordered by the Angamis on the south, Rengmas and Lhōtas on the west, Aos and Lŏphŏmi Sangtams on the north, Yàchumis and Tŭkŏmi Sangtams on the east, while in the north-east corner they touch the Changs and in the south-east the Naked Rengmas.

Of all these tribes, excepting possibly the last, the Sema seems to be in many ways the most primitive. The majority of Semas still do not know how to weave, while the making of iron weapons is apparently of quite recent introduction. This is curious, as the nearest relatives of the Semas, if one can judge at all from the formation of their language, are the Angamis and in particular the Kezāmi division of that tribe, and the Angamis excel in making cloths, weapons, and utensils. But then, of course, so does the Sema when he has once learnt. Some of the best spears and daos made in the Naga Hills district used to be made by a self-taught Sema smith in Litsami.

Affinities. While the Sema language is most closely related to that of the Kezami Angamis,[2] there is a close superficial relation between the Semas and Chĕkrăma[3] Angamis, as a number of villages now reckoned Chekrama are largely of Sema origin,

[1] For the pronunciation of Sema words see Part V. The accent is usually evenly distributed, stress where it occurs being shown thus ′. The length of vowels is often doubtful, and is only shown here when the vowel in question is very definitely long or short. An English reader will generally obtain some approach to the Sema word by giving the vowels their Continental values and very slightly accenting the odd syllables—first, third, fifth, etc., starting afresh after a hyphen.

[2] See Appendix II on Sema Migrations and Connection with Khoirao Tribe.

[3] Or "Chàkrĭma."

THE SEMA COUNTRY FROM KILOMI VILLAGE.

MT. TUKAHU (JAPVO) AND THE BARAIL RANGE AS SEEN FROM SEMA COUNTRY.

[*To face p.* 4.

the customs, dress, and language of the Chekrama Angamis having been adopted as a result of contact with and domination by that tribe. These villages are bilingual and speak Sema or Chekrama Angami indifferently. The Semas of Lazemi, on the other hand, and some other villages in the Dayang Valley, seem to have a fairly strong mixture of Tengima Angami and, in some cases, of Rengma blood, which has influenced their language and customs so much as to make them noticeably different from the genuine Sema. There is a decided admixture of Sangtam and even of Ao blood in the northern Semas, and a very considerable mixture of Tukomi Sangtam to the east, while in the north-east corner a little Chang and Yachumi blood has been introduced. The result of contact with these tribes may also be seen to a certain extent in the customs observed by the Semas and in their songs and dances. Generally speaking, however, the Sema is predominant in mixed villages, and though in some ways very receptive, it is his language and polity which usually prevail. It is only in the case of one or two villages on the Chekrama border that he has fallen under the influence of another tribe so far as to adopt its customs and language in place of his own.

Origin.

Like the other Western Naga tribes, the Semas point to the south as the direction from which they came. They relate the story of the Kezakénoma stone as well as many other folk-tales common to the Angami and Lhota, particularly the latter. They do not, however, trace their origin south of Mao, but point to Tukahu (Japvo) as the place from which they sprang. The ancestors of the Semas came from that mountain, and the Sema villages spread, according to one account, from Swema or Semi, a village near Kezabama, which is to this day a Sema community retaining Sema as its domestic language, though it has adopted the Angami dress and is surrounded by Angami villages on all sides. Other versions, ignoring the Swema story, trace the wanderings of the Semas through different villages, some clans having come north through Hebulimi, Cheshalimi, and Chishilimi, others through Mishilimi ("Terufima") and Awohomi. The Semas of Lázĕmi tell of a great battle

with the Angamis near Swema in which the Semas were defeated and retreated westwards until they reached the Zubza river; afterwards they turned northward to settle finally at Lazemi, Mishilimi, and Natsimi ("Cherama") in the Dayang Valley. The obvious generalisation is that the Sema tribe originally occupied the country now occupied by the Tengima, Chekrăma, and Kezāma Angamis and migrated north under the pressure of Angamis coming from the southern side of the Barail range. The connection with the Kezamas is particularly noticeable, as it is to the language of that tribe that the Sema tongue is most nearly related, but it is likely that the immediate sources of the tribe are to be found in the Khoiraos in Manipur.[1] It is also worthy of note that all traditions agree in tracing the northward movement of the Semas up through the low hills of the Dayang Valley. A sojourn in that very hot and unhealthy locality may well account for the comparative darkness of the average Sema complexion when compared with that of the Angami, as well as his somewhat inferior stature, though in high and cold villages like Seromi fair Semas are far from infrequent, while some of the more easterly Sema villages produce men tall enough and of splendid physique.

Migrations.

Whatever the origin of the Semas was, it is quite clear that the Dayang Valley was the route by which they first entered the present Sema country. Spreading out fanwise, they seem to have been checked on the west by the Rengmas and Lhotas, who were on their part trying to spread east, if the Pāngtī and Ōkŏtsō traditions may be trusted. The Dayang river, however, not unnaturally became the barrier between the two, as for a considerable time of the year it is not fordable, and a small colony from either tribe across the river would be cut off from all help. The Semas, however, who came into contact with the less warlike Rengmas can have had little difficulty in establishing themselves on

[1] See Appendix II. The Khoiraos, or part of them, claim a western origin, and I have myself no longer the least doubt but that the Semas are intimately connected with the Bodo race and can claim as kinsmen the Garos and Kacharis.

the west bank of the river, and it appears that the Rengmas occupied a strip of country running as far east as the Tizu, from which they were ejected by the Semas,[1] who were thus responsible for the separation of the Naked Rengmas from the others, just as they have in quite recent times separated the Sangtam tribe into two parts by pushing a wedge out eastwards to meet the Yachumi. As far south as the Kileki stream the country was occupied by Aos, who were easily driven out by the invading Semas, and the process of expelling Ao villages went on right down to the annexation of the country by Government, which alone saved the Ao from being driven north and west of Mokokchung. Nankam was found too hard a nut to crack by the Semas, owing to its great size combined with its strategical position; but Longsa, which is very nearly if not quite as large, and was composed of refugees from Ao villages from the south who had been driven out by Semas, had actually driven in their cattle, packed up their property, and cleared a site for a new village away to the north, because they could no longer stand the perpetual raiding of Seromi Semas. Ungma, the biggest and oldest of all Ao villages, had already given up cultivation on the Sema side of the village, and Mokokchung must have followed when Longsa had gone, but, unfortunately, on the eve of Longsa's departure the first Military Police outpost arrived at Wokha, and the Aos, concluding that an end would be put to war, made up their minds to stay. The result of this has been that while most of the Ao villages, in which the population is stationary or decreasing, have more land than they can cultivate, the Sema villages with increasing populations live in a perpetual scarcity, which will, if the introduction of terraced cultivation is not strenuously pressed, give rise in the next generation to a very serious problem.

The outlet to the north and west being entirely closed, the Semas had to turn to the east, and in the east the Sema

[1] Kivikhu and one or two other Sema villages near it were comparatively recently known to Angamis as "Mezhamibagwe," *i.e.*, "formerly Rengma," and are marked as such on older maps, though the name has now disappeared.

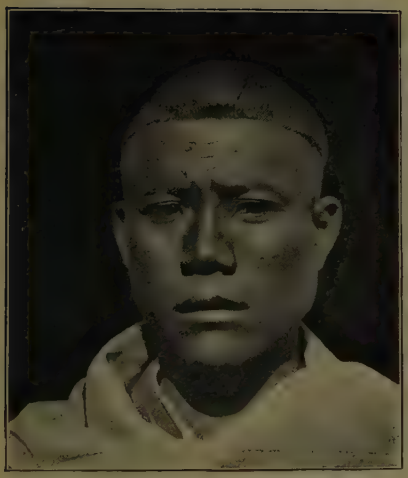
migration still continues steadily. In the north-east it has been at the expense of the Sangtam and Yachumi tribes, while a little further south many Tukomi Sangtam villages are being absorbed or driven east by Sema colonies. Nor does there seem to be any particular likelihood of this eastern migration ceasing until the Semas come into contact with some tribe more warlike than themselves. The Sema polity is particularly suited to colonization, for it is customary for the eldest son of a Sema chief to take, when he is old enough to manage it, a colony from his father's village and found a new village at a convenient distance in which his authority is permanent. If the parent village is large enough, other sons will take other colonies in other directions, leaving a younger brother to succeed their father in the original village.

Appearance.

In appearance the average Sema is certainly inferior to the Angami. On the whole of shorter stature and darker complexion, he has a flatter nose, wider mouth, and his eyes more often have the Mongoloid slope. His lips are thick and his ears, naturally rather prominent, are usually distended with wads of cotton. In the low-lying villages near the Dayang goitre is common and physique generally poor, but in the higher villages on each side of the Tizu the men are comparatively tall and often of very fine physique, particularly among the chiefs and their families. Many have quite fair skins,[1] and among the men good features are often to be met with, sometimes even handsome ones. Among the women, however, ugliness is the rule. A pretty Sema girl is hardly to be found, though the exceeding plainness of the majority of the sex makes the few who are less ill-favoured sometimes seem almost pretty by comparison. The women generally are very short, squat, and horny-handed.

Except in the southern Dayang Valley villages grouped round Lazemi, where the hair is cut lower at the back, thus

[1] Complexion undoubtedly varies with altitude, and Semas from high villages like Aichisagami, who are fair-skinned, turn quite dark when settled near the plains, though I am aware that this fact assorts ill with the learned and elevating disquisition of Hakluyt's ingenious Master George Best on the origin of the colour of the Ethiopian's skin.



Man of Lazmi, Asimi Clan,
Dayang Valley.

Yezetha of Aochagalimi.
A notorious crook (Achumi clan).

Woman of Mishilimi Village, Asimi Clan, Dayang Valley.

[*To face p.* 8.

breaking the circle, all Semas cut their hair in a clean line round the head about an inch or two above the ear, shaving below this line and letting the hair grow long from the centre of the cranium as far as this line. The upper lip is worn clean, the few hairs that grow being cut or torn out by hand, but it is tabu to cut or pull out the hair of the chin. Howbeit, it is very rarely indeed that a Sema succeeds in growing anything approaching a beard. The writer remembers to have met with one Sema, Hozeshe son of Gwovishe, who had a very scanty beard, and to have heard of two other bearded ones. In fact beards among men are about as rare as beauty is among women. The hair of the head is, generally speaking, straight, sometimes wavy, and, though usually black, is very often tinged reddish-brown in children, a colour which occasionally lasts till later in life,[1] and which, like waviness, is considered ugly. The Sema dandies who frequent Kohima and Mokokchung sometimes part their hair in the middle just in front, brushing it to make it stand up straight over the forehead ; a rather good-looking Sema boy who worked for the writer was found tying it back in a cloth at night and was much " ragged " by his companions in consequence. The hair of the other sex, never luxuriant, is shaved till they are about twelve or fourteen years old, when they are considered to approach marriageable age. The reason of this shaving of the head is not known, but it is possible that it is practised to distinguish between the young girl, before whom conversation and speech as between men may be carried on without reserve, and the girl of marriageable age, before whom males *of her own clan* must refrain from mentioning improper subjects or making indecent remarks. It may, however, have the purely utilitarian object of preventing the accumulation of vermin. In a bride the hair is fastened back from the forehead by a circlet of orchid-stalk, a brilliant yellow when dried, or of this yellow orchid-stalk and red

[1] Mr. Noel Williamson recorded a case, which he met with in Ourangkong of the Phoms, of a quite white child with red hair and brown eyes born under circumstances which precluded the possibility of European parentage.

cane work combined. After marriage it is tied up in a knot at the back of the neck, but unmarried girls also tie their hair behind their neck when long enough to do so, to keep it out of the way when at work. Baldness among Semas is rare, but occurs, though even the very old (and Semas sometimes live to a great age) may be seen with their hair merely grizzled, though really white hair also occurs in old men. Wigs are worn by bald or white-haired men. These are sometimes made from the skin of the hump of a black bull which fits naturally to the head, but are more often made of human hair bound on to a cane frame-work for which the head is measured and which imitates exactly the natural coiffure of the Sema, so much so that if well fitted the difference between it and a natural growth is difficult to detect. Such wigs serve as a protection from the sun and from cold, as well as to disguise the wearer's baldness.

As in the rest of the Western group of Nagas, neither sex is tattooed.

ress and rna- ents.

As far as dress goes, the Sema, "bare-doupit Hielan'man" that he is, is still (and he should thank God for it)

> "In the decent old days
> Before stockings and stays,
> Or breeches, top-boots and top-hats."

Although using a rain-shield of bamboo leaves and cane work in the fields in wet weather, he does not otherwise affect any sort of hat. In their ears the men wear wads of cotton-wool (*ákinsúphā*), which in some villages, particularly southern villages inhabited by the Zümomi clan, reach enormous dimensions. The chiefs of such villages as Sakhai and Lhoshepu may be seen wearing in their ears huge fans of cotton-wool, stiffened with slips of bamboo, which obscure the whole profile. This cotton-wool fashion in ear ornaments is elegant enough after its kind, as long as the cotton-wool is fresh and clean, but it is a filthy practice when old age and indifference to appearance lead the wearer to change his ear-wads only after weeks and even months of wear. The ear-wads cannot be discontinued, as the wind whistles in the empty aperture and interferes with

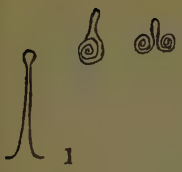
warmth and hearing. As with the Lhotas, the inner part of the ear is bored in the case of males, not the outer edge like the Tengima Angamis. In the lobe of the ear, which is bored in both sexes, a small brass ring is sometimes worn, and in some of the eastern villages men sometimes wear the long brass hairpin-like earrings of the Tukomi Sangtams. The lobe of the ear is bored in infancy, but the inner part at about twelve years old; it cannot be bored after marriage at all, unless on the occasion of the possessor's doing a genna for the taking of a head.

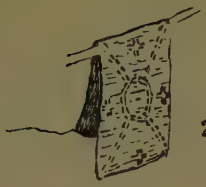
Two sorts of necklets are worn by men. Those who have taken a head or killed a leopard may wear a collar of wild boar's tushes (*amīnīhū*), either a pair or two pairs, the ends of the tushes being bound with cane and fastened together under a sort of huge button of conch shell with a red cornelian bead for its centre, while the points are joined by a loop from one side which catches a similar conch shell and cornelian button fastened to the tush on the other side by a string. In addition to this, a long necklace is worn of three or four strings of white conch shell or imitation beads falling low down over the chest. This necklace (*ashōghīla*) is almost universally worn by Sema men. The genuine beads are made from the polished centres of conch shells bored lengthways and two or three inches long, while the imitation beads are simply opaque white tubular beads, which are sometimes preferred to the genuine article because they are a purer white in colour. The strings are crossed at intervals by bone spreaders, through holes in which the string passes, in order to keep the necklace neat and flat, and the point at the back where the strings are joined up is usually covered with a plain conch shell button, round or square. Before putting on a new bead necklace or collar of tushes the Sema first puts them on a dog, so that if there be any evil in the ornament it may affect the dog and not the wearer of the beads. If a man kill a boar with tushes he may not wear that particular pair, although entitled to do so.

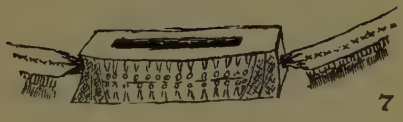
On his arms above his elbows the Sema wears slices of elephant tusk (*akahāghī*) if he is rich enough, and, unlike

the Angami, who rarely wears them unless he wears a pair, the Sema is content to wear an ivory armlet on one arm only. On his wrists he wears brass bracelets (*ásāpū*), rarely more than one on each wrist, and, if he has drawn blood, cowrie gauntlets (*aouka-as'uka*). These gauntlets are made of seven or eight rows of cowries, the sides of which have been filed flat on a stone, sewn as closely as possible on to a cloth support having bamboo slips run through each side, and fastened on to the wrist by a string, which starts from the middle of one side, passes through the other, and is wound round the ends of the slips. The front row of cowries is set the opposite way to the rest, and the whole is backed by a fringe of red hair (*samogho*), sometimes long but more often stiff and short like the bristles of a tooth-brush.

Round the waist either a plain belt (*asüchikhěki*) is worn to support the wooden sling in which the dao is carried just below the small of the back, or more often a belt (*akiasa-kikheki*) ornamented either with cowries in trefoils or with fringes of crimson goat's hair cut short and bound at the root with the dried stalk of an orchid which is bright canary yellow in colour. On the left side a number of cords hang down knotted at the end and ringed with brass just above the knot so that the ends jingle as the wearer moves. Small bells are nowadays sometimes substituted for the brass rings. This belt used also to be restricted to men who had drawn blood, like the gauntlets and the *lapuchoh* apron, but is now worn by anyone. Another belt (*ghākābō*), of tubular make, is also sometimes worn for carrying coin. The "undress" Sema loin-cloth or apron (*amĭnī*) takes three forms, all very decidedly "undress." That usually regarded as the genuine and principal Sema garment (*akecheka-'mini*) consists of a double strip of cloth about three inches wide. This is rolled up tight to go round the waist, being bound with brass wire and furnished at one end with a conch shell or wooden button. The other end, having been attached to this button in front, is so manipulated that the unrolled end hangs straight down in a double flap about eight or nine inches long over the private parts,







1. Tukomi earring.
2. *Lapuchoh.*
3. Sema coiffure.
4. Bead necklace, *ashoghila.*
5. Gauntlet, *aoukah asukah.*
6. *Aghühu.*
7. Wooden sling for dao, *Asüki.*
8. *Asaphu.*
9. *Avikisaphu.*

SEMA ORNAMENTS.

[*To face p.* 12.

in the case of warriors being ornamented with a few cowries here and there in trefoils or pairs. This garment is, of course, a covering in name only, but entirely satisfies the notions of decency entertained by most Semas, and indeed Sema opinion on this matter shows how entirely standards of decency rest upon conventions pure and simple. The Semas who went on the Chinglong expedition in 1913 then saw naked tribes for the first time; the coolies, catching sight of a string of naked Konyăks coming towards them, put down their loads and burst into fits of uncontrollable laughter at this sight of men who, though hardly less naked than they were, wore no three-inch flap. Again at the Sema game of kick-fighting, in which you hop on one leg and use the other to defend yourself and attack your opponent, the women put a stop to each round as soon as decency is offended by the apron of either of the fighters getting shifted round to one side. As from the moment the contest starts the garment in question is flapping up in the air, it is difficult to see what difference it makes whether its point of attachment to the belt is precisely central or slightly lop-sided. The second form of apron (*lapuchoh*) consists of a strip of cloth about eighteen inches long doubled. It is supported at the top by a narrow waist-band over which the front half of the garment falls in a flap. This front is worked with scarlet dog's hair and ornamented with a circle of cowries from which a double line of cowries radiates to each corner. The back half of the *lapuchoh* is of plain blue cloth, the two bottom corners of which are fastened together and the edge between sewn up so as to make a sort of bag, from the corner of which there is usually, but not always, a string running between the legs and fastening on to the back of the waistband. The *lapuchoh* seems to have been borrowed from the Tukomi Sangtams, across the Tizu, and is worn very largely by Semas in the Tizu Valley and across it, but its use is restricted to persons who have drawn blood—spearing a corpse will do. In the villages near the Ao and Lhota country another type has come into fashion and is rapidly superseding the *akecheka*. This is an adaptation of the

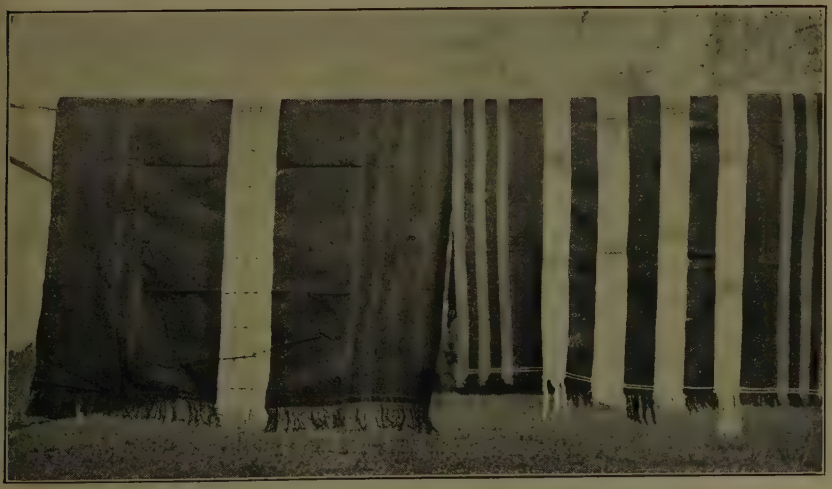
"lengta" worn by the Lhotas and Aos. It is not so large, being usually about eight inches long by six inches wide, but, like it, passes between the legs from behind, coming up in front under the girdle, and falls down over it in a flap. This variety is called *ashola* and is a recent concession to the prudery of Aos and Assamese, both of whom, though the former at any rate are far less moral than the Sema, consider themselves offended by the *akecheka* and will not do business with the wearers thereof.

The Sema under ordinary circumstances wear no leg ornaments at all.

The cloths worn by the western and central Semas are usually of Lhota patterns. Weaving is only practised in a few villages, and even here the patterns worn seem to be of Lhota origin, as the prevailing Sema cloth, which may be seen in all the Sema villages from Lazemi to Litsammi, is the black cloth with three red stripes down each side used by the Ndreng Lhotas and called by them *sinyeku*. Of course it is possible that the Lhotas have adopted this pattern from the Semas, but in view of the fact that weaving seems a newly-acquired art in the Sema country, the reverse is more likely. This black and red cloth is called by the Semas *akhome*, and is embroidered by warriors, of great renown only, with cowries forming circles and sometimes the outline of the human figure, indicating the warlike achievements of the wearer. Thus embroidered the cloth is called *asükeda-pi*.[1] The cloth called *mïi-pi* is black or dark blue, with a white stripe down the centre like the Lhota *pangrop*. To this stripe patterns in black are added by head-takers (as in the Lhota *rokessü*), when the cloth is called *ata-kivi-pi*. The cloth called *sitam* by the Lhotas is also used—dark blue and white stripes, and called *dubopi*, as well as a dark blue cloth with a light blue stripe called *abopi* and resembling the Lhota *pangchang* or *shipang*. Warriors of renown who have also completed all their social gennas may wear a blue cloth of mixed thread called *chini-pi* ("genna cloth"), but as very few women know how to weave this cloth, it is rarely seen. In Lazemi and

[1] *Api* = "cloth."

THE *AGHAOPUCHO.*



Mĭĭ-pi. SEMA CLOTHS. *Nisü-pi.*

[*To face p.* 14.

Mishilimi and other of the Dayang Valley villages a very handsome cloth of broad black and white stripes called *nisüpi* is worn. The eastern Semas commonly use Sangtam (Tukomi) and Yachungr (Yachumi) cloths.

The Sema men put on their cloths by drawing the corner of one end over the left shoulder from back to front and then throwing the cloth round the body so that the opposite corner on the same side of the cloth at the other end falls again over the left shoulder from front to back. The cloth goes either under the right arm, or over it round the neck, as circumstances may dictate. The corner that covers the left shoulder from front to back is usually marked with a tassel of some sort, which hangs down the back of the wearer and often takes the form of a fringe of scarlet goat's hair about 4 inches broad by 6 inches or 8 inches long. The more eastern Semas have also an ingenious method of tying on their cloths as a coat, which they affect when on the march or the war-path. The top corner of one end is again drawn from behind over the left shoulder and the bottom corner of the same end brought under the right arm, and these two corners knotted on the chest. The falling end of the cloth is doubled back again towards the tied ends and the two corners are tied round the waist, the corner opposite the one under the right arm coming round the left side, and the corner opposite the one which goes over the left shoulder coming round the right side of the waist. This covers most of the upper part of the body except the right shoulder and the left side towards the front. Behind, the cloth, besides covering the back, comes down over the buttocks into a point. The belt carrying the dao-sling is worn over the cloth, keeping it in its place. This method of wearing the cloth is called *aghaopucho* (= "the bird garb," said to be so called because used when going into the jungle to snare birds). The European waistcoat, though of course of extraneous origin, has achieved so immediate and universal a popularity among Semas as to be in a fair way towards becoming an integral part of Sema costume.

On ceremonial occasions the dress described above is

WIFE AND CHILD OF THE CHIEF OF LITAMI.

(Photo by Mr. Butler.)

DAUGHTER OF THE CHIEF OF PHILIMI WEARING FILLET DENOTING BETROTHAL

[*To face p.* 17

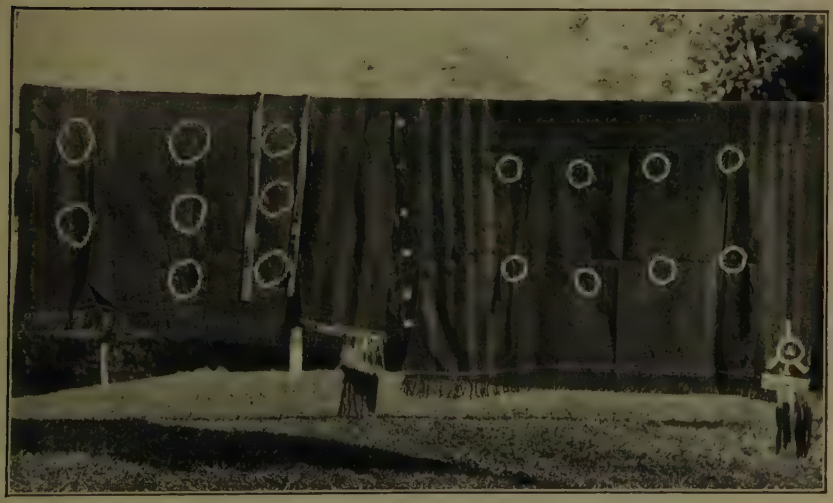
to the body and from which the locks of hair hang down, varied occasionally by a little scarlet or white goat's hair, the back of the projection being ornamented with coloured cane-work and little hair buttons. This variety is called *avikesaphu*, meaning "mithan-horn tail," originally no doubt having been made of mithan's horns. East of the Dikhu "panjis" in war-time are still carried in buffalo-horns slung from the small of the back. On his legs the Sema in ceremonial dress wears, if he can get them, the red and yellow cane leggings of the Angamis or of the "Tukhemmi" or Kalyo-Kengyu tribe away to the east. If not he either wraps his legs in white and scarlet cloths or wears them unadorned.

The dress of the Sema woman consists principally of a short petticoat, which does not reach to the knees, wrapped round the waist and kept in place by a bead girdle. There are more than half a dozen patterns, differing in colour—the *tsoga-mini*, which has a white band at the top, the *kati-'ni*, black and white stripes, *puraso-mini*, white with black edges, *tuko-li-mini* (= Tukomi girl's petticoat), with a blue band at the top, *choe-li-mini* (Lhota girl's petticoat), with a blue band in the middle, the *lahupichika*, which is black and red and worn only by chiefs' daughters, etc. The wives of chiefs and others who have performed a full series of social gennas sometimes adorn their petticoats with cowries sewn on here and there in patterns. Over the top of the petticoat is worn a string of cowries as a belt, and under it a broad girdle of yellow beads extending well below the hips, so broad as to suggest that this was originally the *pièce-de-résistance* of the costume and that the petticoat underneath it is a more recent addition, particularly as weaving seems only to be a recently introduced art among Semas, and the beads alone without any petticoat are worn by little girls. In their ears the unmarried girls wear a cowrie or often a white bead, and little tufts of red hair are worn both by married and unmarried women in some villages, but very often married women wear no ear ornament at all. Necklaces are worn of many strings of beads in which cornelians take the principal and central position. These necklaces are

very like those worn by Chekrăma Angami men, but the cornelians are oval instead of oblong. On their arms the Sema women wear heavy pewter-like armlets above the elbow, sometimes two on each arm, and as many plain brass bangles and bracelets on the wrist and forearms as the wearer can obtain and can conveniently wear. To snatch a person's beads from his or her neck is a serious offence, and necessitates the sacrifice of a chicken, which must be provided by the culprit. It is strictly genna for men to put on or in any way use a woman's petticoat that has once been worn. To do so would destroy all chance of success in war or hunting. It is equally genna to beat a house with a petticoat, which has the same result on its inmates. One case the writer knew of in which a chief had a somewhat serious family quarrel because his wife in a passion took her petticoat and beat his gun with it, and exposed her nakedness to the gun. He has never been able to hit anything with that gun since—a fact. Cloths other than the petticoat are not much worn by Sema women in general, though in some of the villages, like Seromi at the edge of the Ao country, the women less seldom wear cloths. It is believed, however, by Semas that the wearing of too many clothes reduces fertility and causes small families. In Mishilimi and one or two other villages of the Dayang valley the wives of chiefs or persons who have done a full series of gennas may wear a cloth (*akhome*) which is sewn with cowries like the *asükeda-pi*, and some of the Tizu valley Semas allow cowries on the petticoats of a chief's daughter, but generally speaking Sema women may not wear cloths sewn with cowries like those of warriors. Probably the custom of Mishilimi is borrowed from the neighbouring Rengmas, whose women regularly wear cowrie cloths.

Weapons. As in the other western Naga tribes, the principal offensive weapons of the Sema are the spear and the dao; the cross-bow, originally perhaps borrowed from tribes further east, is also used. The only defensive weapon is the shield, unless we may include "panjis." No defensive armour is used by the Semas, not even a cane helmet.

Cloth worn by wife of man who has acquired status in the Dayang Valley.



Two *asükeda-pi* of different patterns.

SEMA CLOTHS SHOWING COWRIES, ETC., SEWN ON.

[*To face p.* 18.

The Sema spear is made in three pieces, the shaft being made in one piece either of the rind of the sago palm, or of the core of some other tree, a tree resembling ash being frequently used. The head has a socket into which the shaft fits, the wood being merely pointed and rammed into the iron, though sometimes gum or a binding of twine is put on to the wood in case of an ill-fitting head. At the lower end of the shaft a spiked butt is fixed in the same way. The head is usually of one of two types, the Ao type, in which the shank spreads into a more or less lozenge-shaped blade with a shallow mid-rib, and a more common flat leaf-shaped type, apparently taken from the spears made by the Kalyo-Kengyu (called by the Semas Tukhemmi) or by some other tribe between Assam and Burma. The Ao type is plain, but the other is worked with zig-zags, crosses, V's, and dashes made by hammering the soft iron with some implement, leaving a little wedge-shaped mark. This head has two projections from each side like those on the Angami spear, only at the bottom of the blade itself instead of on the shank,[1] and it is usually a good deal smaller and more useful than the Angami spear-head. The butt is usually plain, though Shehoshe of Litsami, the best of Sema smiths, used to embellish the butt too. It is used for sticking the spear into the ground when out of use (a spear is never leant against the wall, which impairs its straightness), or in hill-climbing, when the spear is used as an alpenstock, or in throwing at a mark, when the butt end is thrown forward so as not to damage the blade. Angami and Rengma spears are also common enough in the villages in touch with those tribes. Chiefs and persons of importance have the shafts of their spears ornamented with scarlet hair bound on and

[1] These two projections perhaps serve the purpose of keeping the hand from slipping up on to the blade when the spear is used for climbing hills. Their origin, however, might date to a time when the spear-head was fastened to the shaft by a tang and some projection was needed to keep the blade of the spear from being driven back into its haft and cane binding by the impact of its blow on the target. This explanation was suggested to me by the shape of a Kayan spear with a tang instead of a socket in the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford, but Mr. Balfour considers the projection to be derived from the points at the side of a lozenge-shaped blade which has since become leaf-shaped.

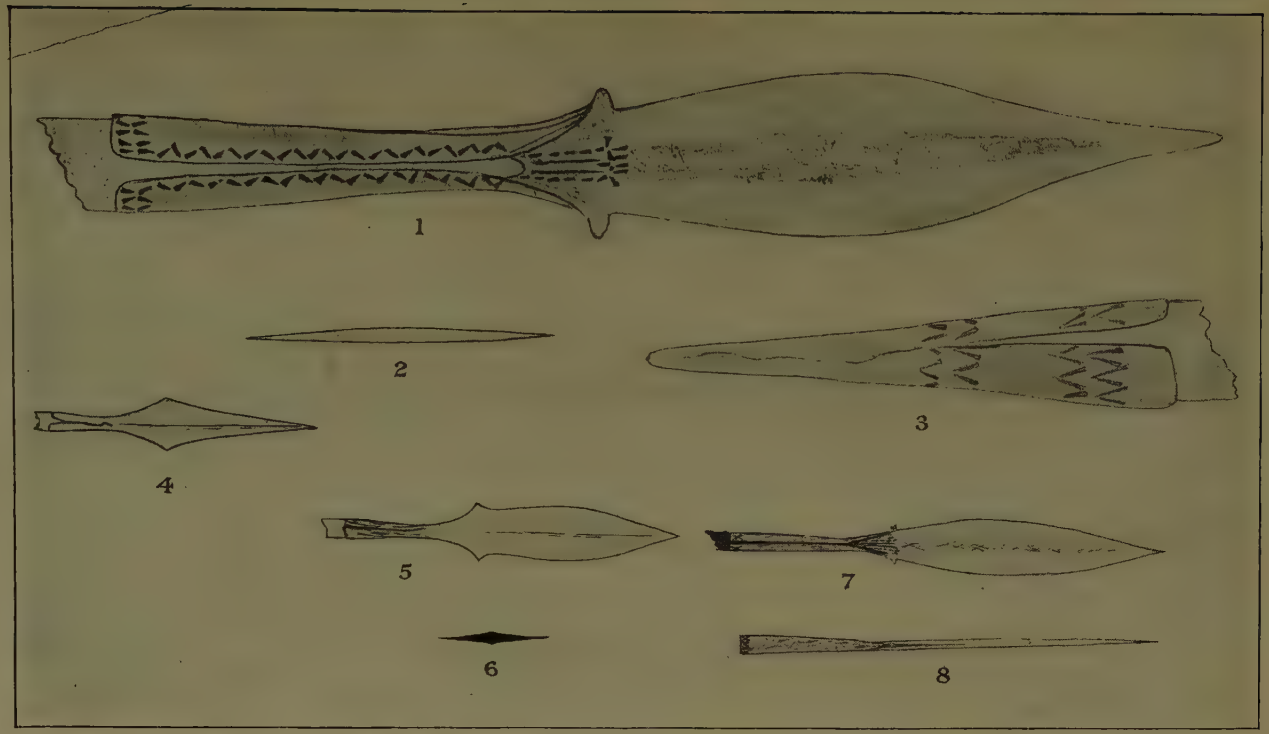
cut short so as to stand out in stiff bristles like a brush, leaving a bare gap in the centre for the grip and having a fringe of long hair at the bottom. Sometimes, as in Ao spears, there is merely a foot or so of red bristles at the top of the shaft.

Shehoshe, the smith mentioned above, made a few spears with a double or triple head in imitation of a Konyak type brought back from the Dibrugarh side by some Semas who went on one of the Abor or Mishmi expeditions, but this type is new to the Sema country, and the imitations are of much finer workmanship than the original.

The Sema spear, though used also for thrusting, is primarily a throwing spear, with an effective range of 16 to 20 paces. The length of the average spear is a little over 6 feet, of which the head and butt occupy 2 feet.

The Sema dao, like the Chekrama and Kezami dao, has a longish handle and is carried slung in a wooden carrier on the right buttock or at the small of the back, with the edge inwards. It is drawn with the right hand from the right side, not over the shoulder like a Chang dao. Several varieties of the dao may be found in the Sema country, but the prevailing type has a straight back and straight top at right angles to it about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, from which the blade gradually narrows to the handle, usually of male bamboo, into which it is fastened by a tang, the end of the handle being bound with cane, iron, or wire to keep it from splitting. The whole weapon is over 2 feet long and is often ornamented, the blade being roughly etched round the edge of the back and top and the handle being made bright with brass wire, or red and yellow cane,[1] and with a few tufts of long red hair let into the haft at the top. The Lhota type of dao, which has a curved back, and the Ao type, with a very broad blade, are common enough, and the iron-handled daos made by Changs and Tukhemmi are popular when obtainable. These daos are of quite a different make, the handle in both cases being made of iron to lap round a wooden peg and merging into the blade, which in the case of the Chang variety is very long and narrow, the metal being sloped off

[1] By yellow cane, yellow orchid stalk is meant, and so *passim*.



1. Spear-head imported from across frontier.
2. Section across blade.
3. Butt by Shehoshe.
4. Ao spear-head.
5. Rengma spear-head.
6. Section of Ao or Rengma type.
7. Sema-made spear-head.
8. Side view.

[*To face p.* 20.

towards the back edge, and with a more or less curved end, while the Tukhemmi dao is hatchet-shaped with a deep indenture at the top. The Semas who acquire these daos let the inevitable tuft of red hair into the wooden peg which forms the end of the haft. Double-bladed daos are also occasionally to be seen in the Sema country. They seem to be copies of a Tangkhul type, which may have been inspired by the shape of the imported iron hoes from which daos are made, and which usually have a pronounced mid-rib.

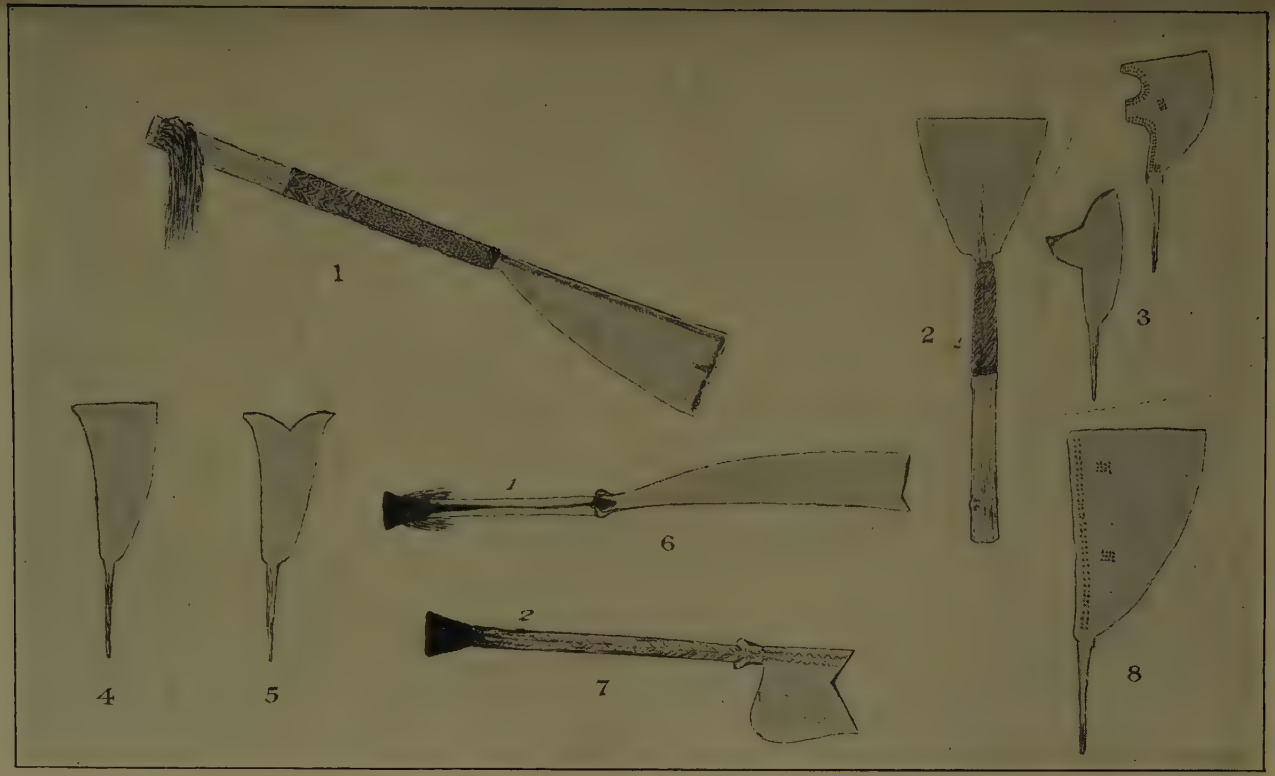
The Sema daos can be wielded either in one hand or both, and are used for every sort of purpose as well as for fighting, even for most delicate work, in spite of their apparent clumsiness. The blunt corner of the back of the dao is much used in cultivation for hoeing out stones and roots from the jhum fields, and is sometimes worn away almost as much as the cutting edge, and it is possibly this use of the dao which accounts for some of the curious shapes in vogue in different parts of the Naga Hills, the almost fish-tailed top of the Chekrama and Kezama dao, for instance, while the advantages of the Lhota dao for this purpose are obvious.

The crossbow is made in many Sema villages, though the use of it has probably been derived from the tribes further to the east, as the Sema crossbow has superseded a simple bow of more primitive type, and is somewhat inferior in ingenuity to that of their eastern neighbours. The stock is made of a wood called *alipa-sü* and has a groove (*aliwoki-bepfu*) to carry the arrow, a hole in the fore end to take the stave, and a lock at the butt end for releasing the string. Bows imported from the Chang or Yachumi tribes have also a rectangular hole in the stock to take the fingers of the left hand when taking aim. The lock, which is made of bone or of sambhar horn,—the latter is preferred—is let into the wood of the stock to take the notch for the bow-string, as a mere wooden notch would be worn out almost at once. In the case of the Sema-made bow, the lock is merely let in to a square opening in the stock cut to fit it, and fastened by cane bindings to the wood of the stock

through holes bored for the purpose. In crossbows imported from further east the lock is dovetailed into the wood and binding dispensed with. The trigger action for releasing the string also differs in Sema-made bows from that of the imported bows. In Sema bows the top of the trigger comes flush with the upper surface of the stock and in front of the string, towards which it is sloped away. It raises the string out of the notch like a lever ; the trigger used by the eastern tribes falls directly under the string and pushes it up from underneath. In both cases the trigger turns on a pin running through the lock from side to side.

The stave, *alika-shuhi*, is made of a single piece of wood of the tree called *tapusü*, though the imported bows are of a different wood. Bamboo is also sometimes used. This stave is single, not composite, and the horns are merely notched to receive the bowstring. When unstrung it is not quite straight, as, if the bow went completely straight when unstrung, it would always send the bolt above the object aimed at. The wood from which it is made is accordingly kept tied bent for a week or so before being finally shaped and trimmed. The string is made from the fibre of the shoots of the tree called *'lika keghi* or *lilubo*, or of *kechokeghi*, nettle fibre, which is twisted into a stout cord. It is not knotted to the stave, but having been put over the notch the short end of the loop is frayed out and twisted up again with the cord for three or four inches, the loop and top of the twist being strengthened with a twist of cane. Three inches or so in the centre of the cord, where it comes into contact with the lock and the arrow, are also bound with cane. The bowstring is made waterproof by being greased with the leaves of a plant called *musüinīyeh*, which are rubbed down the string just as they come from the tree, leaving a slimy deposit on the cord. The plant called " Old Woman's Cry " (*thŏpfughābo*) is also used occasionally for this purpose, but this is possibly merely to impart to the string the toughness of the plant.

The length of the stave is about 5 feet, of the stock about 2 feet, and of the string, when the bow is strung but not bent, about 4 inches less than the length of the stave.



SEMA AND OTHER NAGA DAOS USED BY THEM.

1. Sema dao (*Azhta*). 2. Double-bladed Sema dao, Tangkhul type. 3. Konyak Blades. These two not used by Semas as a rule. 4. Lhota type (*akyckeh*). 5. Chakrima Angami blade. 6 and 7. Iron-handled daos (*ailaghi*). (1) Chang, (2) Tukhemmi or Kalyo-Kengyu. 8. Ao-Konyak blade.

[*To face p.* 22.

The arrow is generally an inch or two over a foot long and should fit the groove on the stock with only the point protruding, but is sometimes shorter. The Yachumi have an ingenious way of fixing the arrow in position, a sharp pin being put at the head of the groove on to which the butt end of the arrow is pushed, the arrow being thus kept in place, but not so tightly fixed as to interfere with its propulsion. The Sema arrow is of plain wood cut to a sharp point and feathered at the butt end with a square piece of dried leaf let in lozenge-wise to a slit in the shaft, which is bound behind, and sometimes also in front of, the "feather." The leaf used for this "feather" is made from the flat, rather fleshy leaf of a small palm-like tree which also provides the Semas, like other Nagas, with their hair-brushes, the latter being made from the fruit. The arrows imported from trans-frontier tribes, are pointed with short broad barbed iron heads fastened to the shaft by lapping part of the iron from which the head is cut round the wooden point. The tribes who make these arrows use poison on them, but poisoned arrows are not used by the Semas. The wood used for the arrow is usually bamboo, but trans-frontier arrows are also made of sago-palm.

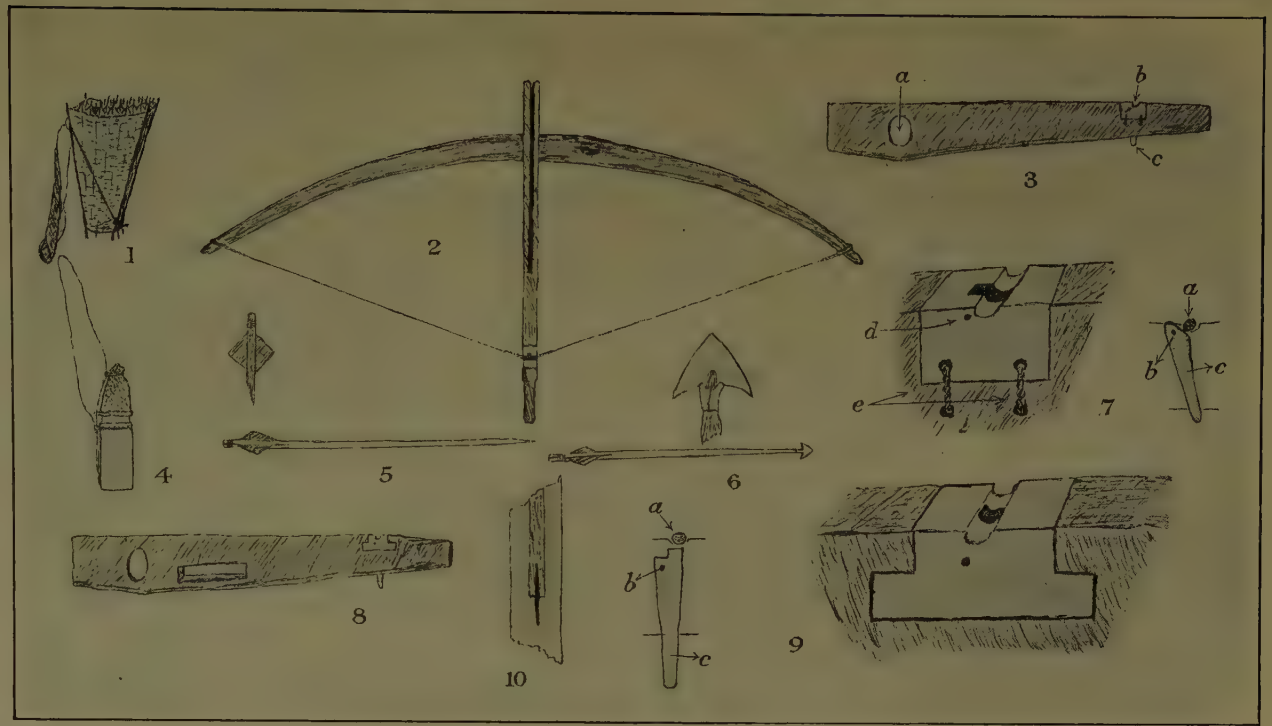
The bow is ordinarily kept unstrung, that is to say, with the loop of one end of the string round the horn of the bow just on the inner side of the notch, the loop being too small to allow the string to slip down for more than an inch or two. In stringing the bow, one end is placed on the ground and one foot is placed against the belly of the bow low down; the opposite horn is held in the left hand and the right wrist placed on the point of the horn. The loop is then worked up into the notch from the back of the bow with the tips of the fingers of the right hand, the bow being bent by the pressure of the foot and left hand. In bending the bow the stave is held down with one foot, the operator standing on the other. The butt is held in the left hand and the string pulled up to the notch with the right. If it cannot be drawn with one hand, both hands catch hold of the string on each side of the stock, leaving go of the butt entirely. Then the arrow is fitted to the groove. In taking aim, the left

hand grasps the stock a little short of the stave, while the right hand holds the butt close up to the right eye so that the eye glances along the arrow to the object aimed at. Both eyes remain open, though only the right eye is used. The bow is released in this position by drawing the trigger with the right forefinger. The Sema bow with the simple wooden arrow, when made of green and therefore heavy wood, has a very effective and accurate range of 60 yards or more and a carry of over 200, though no accurate aim is possible at such a distance. There is at present an Ao of Longsa with only one eye, the other having been put out by a Seromi arrow in an attack on the village. An iron-headed arrow would probably have killed him.

The simple bow, which has now gone out of use, was practically a lighter form of the stave of the crossbow without the stock, and though sometimes held vertical or oblique, is believed to have usually been discharged in a horizontal position. Toy bows are still used by children to play with.

The defensive arms of the Sema amount to the shield and panjis, though the cane helmet used by the Yachumi and Sangtam tribes is sometimes used where it can be obtained. Panjis (*ashu*) are made of pieces of bamboo sharpened at the ends and varying in length from 8 inches to 3 or 4 feet, long ones being used for more or less permanent defensive works and for putting at the bottom of pitfalls. Short panjis are carried in a little basket, or in the receptacle at the top of the tail, when on the war-path, and are stuck into the path behind him by a retreating warrior to hinder pursuit. Well-seasoned panjis are exceedingly sharp and hard. The best of all are those made from the heart of a tree-fern which has rotted for two or three years, leaving a core of exceedingly hard wood. Panjis made of this break off in the flesh and cannot be extracted.

The shield (*azhto*) is normally of basket-work, being made of interlaced bamboo slats and bound with cane, and with a horizontal cane handle on the inside, which is concave. One end is square and the other round, the square end being broader as a rule, and the whole is sometimes covered with



1. Sema quiver. 2. Crossbow. 3. Stock of Sema crossbow; *a* hole for stave, *b* lock, *c* trigger. 4. Quiver imported. 5. Sema arrow. 6. Imported arrow. 7. Sema lock and method of release by trigger; *a* bowstring, *b* trigger-pin, *c* trigger, *d* hole for trigger-pin, *e* cane bindings. 8. Stock of Chang or Yachumi crossbow. 9. Method of release by trigger, and lock of imported crossbow; *a* bowstring, *b* trigger-pin, *c* trigger. 10. Yachumi method of fixing arrow by a pin at head of groove.

[*To face p.* 24.

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the skin of mithan, bear, or cow, sometimes merely painted with patterns in black, principally circles and wavy lines, the latter being a favourite pattern for ornamentation of all sorts. On the war-path the round end is carried uppermost; in ceremonial use the square end is carried uppermost and garnished with a long and thick plume of red goats' hair bound to a cane and topped with white. Sometimes three such plumes will be worn on one shield. A hide shield is also used, but this is imported from the Sangtams, Changs, and Yachumis. It is made of raw and polished buffalo-hide, like the basket shield about 2 feet wide or less, but forming two sides sloping to a vertical ridge; it has a vertical handle inside. The shield is only about 3 feet in height against the 4 or so feet of the basket shield, and is more easily manipulated than is the latter when it is covered with skin, though possibly the uncovered basket shield is lighter. For men fighting in parties, the leather shield, apart from its smaller protective area, has the disadvantage of turning a spear so that it glances off to the right or left, when it may wound a neighbour. With the basket shield the spear pierces the bamboo work and sticks in it, when, if the point has not been turned, it may be pulled out and thrown back at the enemy. The hide shield is occasionally found lacquered, but the process is not known to the Semas.

Character

The character of the Sema has been sketched by Mr. Davis with some severity. He says of the Semas (Census of Assam, 1891, Part II, p. 247) that "in treachery and lying they were and are quite unsurpassed, even among Nagas," and that "a Sema oath is worth less than the oath of any other Naga tribe." It is true that the Sema does regard all fair in war, and cases of great treachery occur outside war as well. In 1912 Vikoto and Zalepu of Kumishe invited in some Sangtam warriors to cut up Păkāvi, the Chief of Kumishe, and his relations in the night, merely because they had a quarrel with him, while cases of treachery to guests invited with treachery in view must have been fairly common. A few years ago Nikāshe, Chief of Aichikuchumi, invited a Yachumi chief to come with him

to Mokokchung to ask for a red cloth. On the way he fell on his companion and smote him that he died. Howbeit similar acts of treachery could be shown from any Naga tribe, and the Sema is probably no worse in that respect than, at any rate, the majority of his neighbours. Even if he regards all as fair in war, he has a very clear sense of fair play outside it, and definite moral standards of right and wrong, which he recognises even while transgressing them. As far as his untruthfulness is concerned, it must be admitted that the Sema readily takes a false oath. The oath on a tiger's tooth is lightly regarded, more particularly so since the clearing of the country has made tigers scarce and death at their hands almost unknown of recent years. Moreover, it is not easy to find an oath that will bind an ordinary Sema when he is in difficulties, though oaths of some weight do exist. The oath of a chief, however, is of more value, at any rate if the chief is a man of standing and reputation, for the Sema chief is usually particular as to his good name. The charge of thievishness that is frequently brought against the Sema is likewise well founded. The common Sema (the Sema chief, though he may rob on occasions, does not steal) finds it difficult to keep his hands from picking and stealing when a good opportunity presents itself. It is doubtful, however, if he is as bad as the Ao, who is at least as big a thief and a bigger liar. The Sema is more of a "picker up of unconsidered trifles" than a persistent thief, as the Ao so often is.[1]

So much for the Sema's bad characteristics. In his good characteristics he is to some extent the Irishman of the Naga tribes, generous, hospitable, and frequently improvident (in which he differs markedly from the canny Lhota). He is very impulsive and very cheery, and if easily depressed, it is never for long. In most unpleasant conditions he is easily moved to laughter and merriment. And under all is a very strong vein of fatalism.

[1] This was written in 1915. Recent experiences with Semas of the best families have led me to modify my opinion in the direction of Mr. Davis's. The Sema tribe comes near to equalling the Ao and Tangkhul as an abiding justification for the words of King David in his wrath.

Tribal as opposed to merely village sentiment is perhaps stronger among Semas than among most Naga tribes, while customary obedience to his chief makes the average Sema more ready to accept discipline and orders generally than Nagas usually are. He is perhaps a shade less litigious than most of his neighbours, and usually quite ready to accept a compromise in his disputes. He is sensitive, particularly to ridicule, and is easily influenced physically by notions that may be quite erroneous. Most Nagas are like this; they get an idea into their head that they have been permanently injured by some accident or illness, often most trivial, but are affected as though it had really been a serious one. On the other hand, they respond very easily indeed to medical treatment, partly perhaps because of their belief in the efficacy of medicine given them by a European, and partly because of their extraordinary vitality. They seem able to recover from appalling wounds, with no treatment except bandaging with a filthy cloth and the application of chewed tobacco or crushed leaves, not without dirt, to the wound.

The Sema's powers of physical endurance are great. He can carry heavy loads long distances, carrying them, like most Nagas, on a forehead band, and can march over the roughest country for long distances, 25 miles being regarded as a reasonable day's march, and double that being covered in case of urgency; this, too, over Naga paths which make no account of gradients. The writer has known Inaho of Melahomi leave his village at dawn, reach Mokokchung (a good thirty-five miles with some very stiff climbing) by midday, and get back to his own village by dusk that night, and that on a matter of no very particular urgency or importance. The Sema, moreover, if thin-skinned metaphorically, is very thick-skinned otherwise, and inured to cold and exposure. Though unused to and unable to bear snow and severe frost, Semas seem able to bear a great deal of cold with equanimity and to lie down and sleep anywhere with no covering but the universal cotton cloth.

In warfare and hunting the Sema is plucky and daring, at any rate by Naga standards, though as regards warfare

these are not high, prudence being prominent in all plans, and risks rarely being undertaken except with the prospect of a large return in heads. It is hardly necessary to observe that the Sema is very savage when killing is to hand, and he is also addicted to lycanthropy, another savage trait. At the same time he often displays a horror almost amounting to fear of frogs, snakes, worms, and various sorts of creepy-crawly animals. The writer has seen several grown warriors go out of their way to avoid a large death's-head moth caterpillar, though knowing perfectly well that it was absolutely harmless, and uninfluenced by any special reason, while an old and tried Sema interpreter [1] at Kohima nearly has a fit if confronted with a snake, and has an almost equal aversion for frogs, though these form a common article of food in the Sema country.

The Sema women, though usually stumpy and plain to ugliness, have a cheerful disposition and make their menfolk faithful wives and dutiful daughters. They are generally chaste and are good mothers and good housewives, the management of their husband's house being left to his head wife and rarely interfered with, and although polygamy is common, the wives usually get on with one another with very little of the bickering and quarrelling so common in Lhota households. The relation between the sexes among the Semas is less sentimental than among the Angamis and Aos. Marriages are usually arranged on a basis of convenience, and though a girl is never married to a man against her will, most of the arranging is done for her by her parents, and a wife is chosen primarily for what she can do rather than for her looks. In her husband's household the wife takes a high place. Children are kindly treated, but are more often chastised, when naughty, than among the Angamis, and probably a great deal more often than they are by the people of the plains of Assam. One way of chastising naughty boys is with nettles, though, as far as could be ascertained, this is rather because it gives pain without doing permanent injury than from any other motive (see "Golden Bough," vol. IX, p. 263). Step-

[1] Khupu, since dead.

mothers have a proverbially bad reputation and sometimes certainly deserve it, but with equal certainty by no means always or even as a rule.

Family affections generally are strong, though not strong enough to prevent incessant quarrels between two brothers who succeed their father jointly in their father's village. For romance, however, the Sema has little time to spare. His life is one perpetual struggle for an existence in which one year's crop is rarely enough to last him in even comparative comfort till the next harvest. Before he has reaped the whole of that harvest he is already at work clearing the new jhums for the following year. If he leaves his fields alone at all it is only to raid, to hunt, to observe a genna, or to go away to work for just long enough to earn the two rupees which he must pay to Government as house-tax. The women help in the cultivation like the men, and do the housework as well. Romance and sentiment in a life of this sort find little room to grow and flourish, though that is not to say that they do not exist. Shoghopu, Chief of Litami, and Inato, Chief of Lumitsāmi, were intimate friends and agreed to die at the same time. Inato died in 1915 still a young man. This preyed on Shoghopu's mind, and though himself also young and healthy he managed to die in 1919 dwelling on the fact that he did so because Inato was waiting for him. The writer once saw an old and, one would have thought, very hardened Sema interpreter—Khupu of Lazemi—burst into genuine tears on hearing a phonograph reproduce a song about his deceased friend Inato ; the Sema is not at all the stony-hearted savage that one might suppose him to be.

PART II

DOMESTIC LIFE

THE SEMA VILLAGE, SITE, NAME, APPROACHES AND GENERAL FEATURES—THE HOME: CONSTRUCTION, CONTENTS—ART; MANUFACTURE; CURRENCY—AGRICULTURE; LIVE-STOCK—HUNTING AND FISHING—FOOD, DRINK AND MEDICINE—GAMES—DAILY LIFE

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Sema village.

THE Sema village is usually built either on the summit of a hill or on the shoulder of a spur. Down near the valley of the Dayang, where the climate is hot, a summit is usually chosen, but in the higher and colder regions a shoulder below the ridge of a range of hills is a commoner site for a village. In naming the village, the practice which is most prevalent is to call it after the name of the chief. Thus we have Sakhalu-nagami, "Sakhalu's village men," or Sakhai-nagami, "Sakhai's village men," and though the name of a village often changes when the old chief is followed by his son, it quite as often becomes fixed, retaining the name of its founder, even among the independent villages where there has been no administration to perpetuate the original names. In other cases, however, local features have given their names to the village, as in the case of Seromi, called, from the *susurrus* of the local rivulet, "the Men of the Whispering," or Alapfumi, "the Separated Village Men," so called because of an eminence separating them from Lumitsami, their parent village, or Aichi-Sagami, Sagami of the *aichi* bamboos, known in jest as Aousa Sagami—"Light-fingered" Sagami. A colony which came across the Tizu from Satami in 1916 and settled on the steep slope opposite was nicknamed Vedami, suggesting dung thrown against

a wall, so as to stick, which the name has done also. A third form of nomenclature is that adopted from conquered or expelled enemies whose villages the Semas occupy. Thus Litami is the Sema version of Lungtang, the Lhota name of the original village the inhabitants of which the Semas drove out. Sometimes also a village is named from some historical connection, as Phuyemi, "the old village," from which many colonies went out and to which some returned after many days. Most Naga tribes seem to have their "old village." Another village takes its name from the result of an epidemic which killed off all the pigs, so that porcine sanitary operations round about the village were temporarily suspended. Hence its name of Abakughomhomi (better known in the abbreviated form Bohomhomi or Baïmho), the men of Mouldy-Dung.[1]

The defences of a Sema village can show little to compare with the elaborate precautions of Angami communities. For one thing, Sema villages being as a rule very much smaller,—a village of 100 houses is quite large for a Sema village[2]— the cultivated lands are nearer to the village and the fighting men more easily assembled in case of a raid. At the most, the defences of a Sema village consist of a double fence with a ditch between crossed by a single plank, both the ditch and the outer sides of the fences being panjied. Many villages, Seromi, for instance, relied or rely for security from hostile raids solely on the vigilance of their watchmen and their reputation for valour. In cases, however, where the village used to be defended by a ditch and fence and

[1] Another explanation, which I believe is quite recent and entirely fictitious, gives a derivation from one Naïmho, which is not a Sema name, but has been since ingeniously elaborated into a derivation from *anakughomhomi* or "mouldy-rice-men," which for the last two years the men of Baïmho have insisted is the real derivation when laughed at because of the name of their village. This derivation was not known in 1915, and has been thought of since then.

[2] Angami villages frequently run to 400 houses or more, Kohima village heading the list with more than 700. It is recorded to have had 900 houses formerly. Ao villages also run to large numbers. Ungma has more than 700, Longsa and Nankam about 650 or more apiece. Seromi, probably the biggest Sema village, except Lazemi, contains fewer than 300 houses.

Rotomi Village.

Kilomi Village Showing Granaries to Left.

[*To face p.* 34.

these defences have been allowed to disappear under the peaceable conditions of the British Administration, the village from time to time, say once in three to five years, does a genna for fear that the wrath of some spirit might afflict them by reason of their having given up a former custom. They therefore turn up a little earth by way of digging a ditch, just scratching up the mould in two or three places, and put in a few harmless panjis of roughly-pointed bamboo and a few sticks to represent the fence. A pig is slaughtered and divided, and a share given to every male in the village. The first panjis are put in by a warrior who has taken a head, and the first earth turned by a man without blemish on his body. The writer saw this done at Litami in 1917.

The approach to a Sema village is always over land consisting largely of open jhum, and in part of very thick low jungle, in which the movement of an enemy would be most difficult. The precipitous approaches and the narrow lanes leading to Angami villages do not seem to be sought after, and though Angami influences may be clearly seen in some of the southern villages, notably Lazemi, these are exceptions to the general rule.

The paths and communications between Sema villages, while generally much more open than those in the Angami country, are far less elaborate. The broad graded paths of the Angamis to their fields do not exist, for the Sema has no permanent cultivation like the Angami terraces, and his field-paths vary yearly with his jhums. Bridges, too, are far less elaborate; a simple log or two, perhaps squared on the top, with sometimes a bamboo hand-rail, usually serves his purpose, or, in case of a river too broad for a bridge of that sort, the usual Naga type of cane suspension bridge consisting of a bamboo foot-way slung in a V-shaped cradle on long cane ropes attached to trees on either bank. In the case of absence of trees, forked poles are put up, and the cane ropes suspending the bridges are run over these and pegged into the ground behind to get the necessary leverage.

When building a bridge it is "genna" to eat rice inside

the village on the morning of the day when the bridge is to be put up.

The writer saw a bridge put up over the Tizu when in flood. The river was unfordable and the erection was delayed for a day for want of someone to swim across. When such a man was found, however, he took across a light cord and pulled over a cane rope, making it fast to a tree. On this rope men hauled themselves across hand over hand, their bodies straightened out by the current, and materials, tied to the slack of the rope, which was pulled backwards and forwards, were sent across, and six cane ropes slung up to trees on either bank, two for the foot-way and two on each side as hand-rails. On this tight-rope affair men went with looped slivers of pliant bamboo, and, monkey-like, passed them under the foot-way with their toes, and so tied the hand-rails to the foot-way all the way along. Here and there bamboo joints with a V-shaped ending were lashed from hand-rail to foot-way to stiffen the whole, and then split bamboos were interlaced all along the sides, giving a very fair stability. Finally, two or three bamboos were put down whole to make a foot-way.

The arrangement of the houses in a Sema village is looser and more open than in an Angami village, and the scattering of the houses is conducive to greater cleanliness and decreased danger from fire. There are several noticeable features of the Sema village not found in Angami villages.[1] One is the separate collection of granaries, little huts in rows raised from the ground and usually placed at a short distance from the inhabited houses to secure them against fire. Another is the bamboo plantations which surround the village with clumps of a great bamboo, the long feathery heads of which, suggestive of the ostrich feathers of the Prince of Wales, are most picturesque at a distance. In place of the stone monoliths of the Angami village the Sema villagers erect trees and tall bamboos covered with leaves

[1] Swemi and one or two villages on the Chakrima Angami side have been so thoroughly Angamicized that no account can be taken of them in dealing with Sema villages in general. They must be ranked as virtually Angami, not Sema.

Wooden Sitting Platform in Front of Chief's House—Sakhalu.

Genna Posts (Sakhalu) Showing Carved Mithan Heads and *Aghü-hu*.

[*To face p.* 37.

to celebrate their gennas, while the houses of chiefs and rich men are surrounded with massive carved forked posts to which mithan have been tied when slaughtered at festivals. The sitting places of a Sema village consist of simple platforms, generally of bamboo, and in front of the houses of important persons.

The graves of the dead may often be seen in front of the houses they inhabited during life, a slight mound surrounded, in the case of men, but not of women, by a low fence with a little thatched roof above it, and the deceased's ornaments hung up on it with the heads of cattle slaughtered at his funeral. Little fenced-in patches of garden, where vegetables are grown, are scattered here and there among the houses.

The "morung," or young men's house, is practically non-existent among the Semas. It is occasionally found in a miniature form not unlike a model of a Lhota morung with a carved pole in front and a projecting piece of roof above. Such a model is often built in times of scarcity, the underlying idea apparently being that the scarcity may be due to the village having neglected to conform to a custom which has been abandoned. Apitomi, in 1916, built quite a large one,[1] but the usual pattern is so small that a man on his hands and knees might enter if he wished, but the morung could not in any sense be called an inhabitable house. A miniature morung of this sort is always built when a new village is made. As a general rule, the chief's house serves all the purposes of a morung,[2] both as a centre for gennas and as a bachelor's sleeping-place, the young men of his village sleeping in his outer room on the dhan-pounding tables.

A Sema village is on the whole much cleaner than an Angami village, partly because there is much more room, but largely because the Sema has not the filthy Angami

[1] It was made somewhat on the Ao model and elicited a good many scathing remarks from men of other villages about the adoption of new customs and imitation of the Aos. In almost all Naga tribes the morung or Bachelors' Hall is a principal feature and plays a great part in village life, but the Sema tribe is an exception to the general rule.

[2] Cf. Stack, *The Mikirs*, p. 11.

habit of keeping his cattle in his house. Cattle are kept outside the village, which remains comparatively clean.

Water is obtained from a spring or springs in the side of the hill on which the village is built, and care is usually taken to prevent the fouling of the water by animals.

The house.

The house of a Sema is on the average smaller than an Angami house and much less substantial in construction. Where the Angami uses wooden planks the Sema employs bamboos, so that his house never has the solidity typical of an Angami house. The house of the ordinary Sema villager is about 12 to 15 paces long by 5 to 6 wide, but the houses of chiefs are considerably larger and sometimes very large indeed. The posts supporting the house are set in lines of three, a small house needing three such lines, a large house four, and a very large house still more. The eaves are brought down to within 3 or 4 feet of the ground, and an apse-like addition is often made to the front or back of the house, or both, the roof of it being low and semicircular. The two bamboos forming the front of the gable are prolonged beyond the roof to form horns, called *tenhaku-ki* (*i.e.*, " snail-horns "), sometimes embellished with imitation birds of wood fastened on to them, and with ornaments of gourds and bamboo tassels hung to the ends to rattle in the wind. Occasionally barge-boards, pierced at the ends in imitation of the Angami house-horns, may be seen replacing the ordinary bamboo *tenhaku-ki*, but these are rare. In any case, horns may only be added to the front gable by persons who have performed the requisite social gennas. Thatch is the only sort of roofing employed by Semas. In building a house, or any building, it is genna to plant a post with the upper end downwards, as this would cause suffering to the tree. On the other hand, should a post once planted take root and sprout, it must be cut down ; otherwise, having overcome the man who cut it, it will " look upon his death."

The interior of the Sema house is ordinarily divided into four rooms : the *akishekhoh*, or front room, in which the great paddy-pounding tables (*aboshu*) are kept [1] ; the *abidela*,

[1] See illustration p. 56.

Miniature "Morung" built at the founding of the Village of Vedami. The Man is Chekiye, Son of Gwovishe, and a were-tiger.

"Morung" in Philimi built on account of the Bad Harvest 1916.

[*To face p.* 38.

a narrow room, in which the unmarried girls of the household sleep, between the *abishekhoh* and the *amiphokīboh* (="hearth room"), the main room, in which the hearth is, and where the owner of the house sleeps; and the *azhiboh*, the "liquor room," a narrow room at the back of the main room, where the liquor vats are kept.[1] The hearth[2] consists of three stones on which a pot can be placed, the fire being put between the stones. Extra stones are often added in big houses, so that two or three pots can be kept on the fire together. At the four corners of the square, of which the hearth forms the centre, are posts supporting a bamboo shelf, which serves the double purpose of preventing sparks flying up to the roof and of affording an excellent place for drying meat or keeping cooking utensils. Beds are made from single slabs of wood hewn out of the tree and raised 2 feet or so from the ground, either on wooden props or on legs hewn out of the wood in the same piece as the slab itself. The great bed of a Sema chief is often an enormous table about 6 inches thick, with great legs at each corner, 2 feet or more long, hewn out of the tree all in one piece, and is perhaps more than 5 feet long by about 4 feet wide. It is usually higher at the head than at the foot, and sometimes has a ledge at the bottom, against which the feet may rest, and a wooden pillow for the head raised slightly from the level of the rest of the bed. There is always a door at the side near the hearth, and in large houses usually a door at the back as well as at the front.

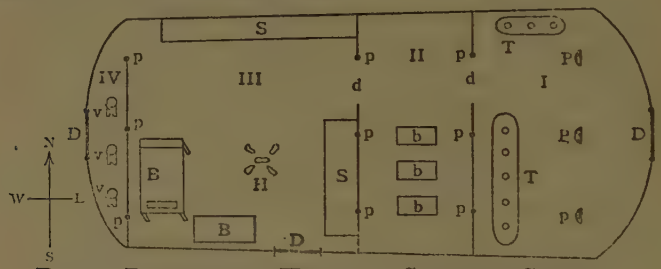
There is very little decoration about the Sema house. The centre post of the front gable is often carved with mithan heads, and the outside wall of the front gable and the wall of the front room facing the front door are hung with the heads of game killed and mithan slaughtered by the owner of the house. The bamboos of the front wall are also adorned with lines in parallel waves; the dummy birds and other decorations added to the "snail-horns" have been already mentioned.

Though there is no lack of fleas and kindred vermin in the Sema house, it is far cleaner than that of the Angami.

[1] Other terms for the various rooms are also used. [2] Illustrated p. 48.

Pigs, dogs, and chickens are kept there, but they have not the freedom of the house, being more or less confined to the front room, while the house is frequently swept out, an event that never seems to happen to an Angami house at all.

Plans of the houses of two Sema chiefs follow. They are a good deal bigger than the average Sema house, though not than those ordinarily built by chiefs of position. The first was measured by the writer in paces, the second by a Naga sub-overseer with a tape.



ROUGH PLAN OF THE HOUSE OF SAKHALU, CHIEF OF SAKHALU-NAGAMI.

Length, 26 paces; breadth, 12 paces.

Akishekhoh I. *Abidela* II. *Amiphokibo* III. *Azhibo* IV.

Beds of the Chief and his wives—B.

Beds of unmarried girls of the household—b.

Hearth, with bamboos at each corner to support the screen over the fire—H.

Shelves—S.

Pounding tables—T.

Liquor vats—v.

Carved posts—P (the one to the side being the old centre post of a former house).

Plain posts—p.

Doors external—D.

Doors internal—d.

N.B.—The front is to the right.

The utensils and general properties to be found in a Sema house differ little on the whole from those in an Angami one, though paddy and rice are not kept in the house, but in granaries outside the village. The cooking pots, baskets, strainers, and wooden vats for liquor are all of similar type to those used by an Angami, as also are the long dhan-pounding tables. Spoons are less elaborate than

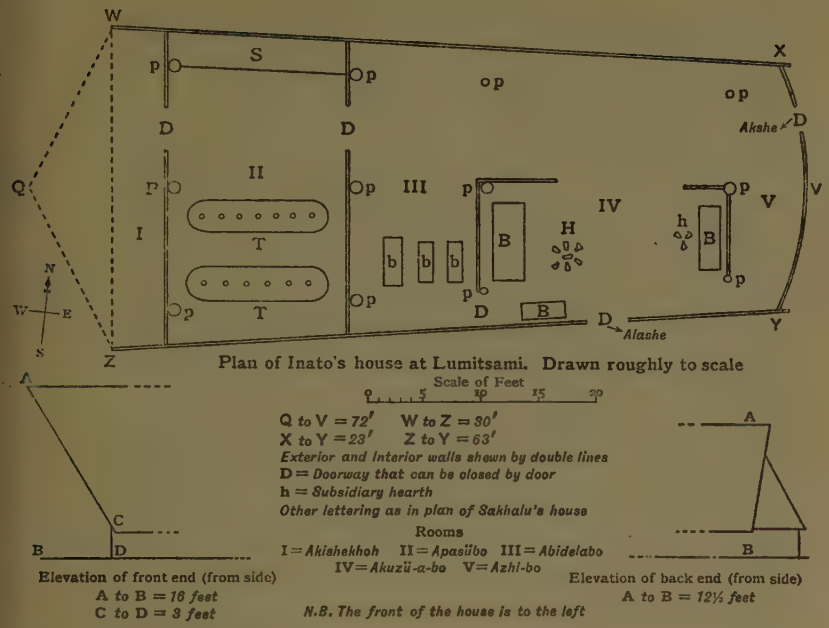
1.

2.

SEMA HOUSES SHOWING HOUSE-HORNS (*TENHAKU-KI* = "SNAIL HORNS") OF WOOD AND OF BAMBOO WITH RATTLES OF GOURDS AND BAMBOOS.

The house with wooden horns is that of Sakhalu, Chief of Sakhalu-nagami, and is ornamented with imitation *cheung*—birds cut out of wood, and often used in this way. (*v. infra* under "Art.")

[*To face p.* 40.



Plan of Inato's house at Lumitsami. Drawn roughly to scale

those of the Angami, as "modhu" spoons are not used. A large flat ladle shaped like an oar is used for mixing liquor. Numbers of forked sticks depend from the roof to serve as hooks for hanging things up, and water is invariably carried in great sections of the giant bamboo with the joints pierced. Sema cups are made of the same bamboo shaved down thin at the rim, pared away to match at the bottom, and furnished with a cane-work handle. Dishes are made of wood in various sizes, but almost all of the same pattern, roughly circular at the top, hollowed out to a flat bottom, the depth being about a third of the diameter and the sides sloped outwards from the bottom, the whole standing on a pedestal somewhat higher than the depth of the dish itself and widening from a narrow top to a circular stand about half the diameter of the dish. This stand is hollowed and the sides are pierced with four triangular spaces. The dish and its pedestal are made in a single piece, usually from the "simul" tree [1] or some similarly soft wood.

[1] *Bombyx malabaricum.*

Fire.

Another utensil invariably found in Sema houses, although matches are gradually coming into common use, is the fire-stick. The fire on the hearth may not be lighted with matches, and if it should go out in the night is sometimes lit with a fire-stick. At other times a brand is fetched from a neighbouring house. The fire-stick is thus less often used for lighting fires (for the fire on the hearth is not ordinarily allowed to go out) than for taking omens, and most houses have an old stick that has long been used for this purpose and is covered everywhere with the notches burnt by the thong. Not that this particular stick has any virtue as distinct from that of any random fire-stick, but that occasions needing new fire, as at sowing time, or the taking of omens, occur mostly before one leaves one's house or village, so that the natural thing to do is to take out the old fire-stick that is handy in the thatch and take the omens before one goes about one's business. For fires made or omens taken away from home any dry stick that can be found is split and made into a fire-stick, which merely consists of a split stick with a bit of stone wedged in the fork to keep it open and a notch or two cut in the under side to keep the thong running in one place. The thong consists of a 2-foot sliver of pliant bamboo peeled and shaved, the shavings being used as tinder. The *modus operandi* is to squat on one heel, with the other foot on the butt end of the fire-stick; the tinder is placed under the fork, and sometimes also in the fork as well, and the thong run under the fork and over the tinder and pulled sharply backwards and forwards by the stooping operator until the thong breaks or the tinder smoulders, when it is blown into flame. Omens, however, are not usually taken from the spark, but from the manner in which broken strands of fibre project from the break in the burnt thong.[1]

For carrying fire when going to the fields, etc., a sort of torch (*amisü*) is used which is made from the heads of millet from which the seeds have been threshed out; these are bound tightly round into a solid mass with strips of pliant

[1] See H. Balfour, "Frictional Fire-making with a Flexible Thong," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. xliv. (1914).

1. Tinder. 2. Thongs. 3. "Hearths."

Sema Making Fire.

A. First Position. B. Second Position.

[*To face p.* 42.

bamboo. The whole forms a sort of elongated cone, the broad end of which, when once lighted, will continue smouldering without bursting into flame. A torch of this sort about 18 inches long will go on burning for days. A fire-stick is almost always kept in the field-house, but an *amisü* is very useful for lighting one's pipe, and may be worn in a bamboo cage, or with the thin end just tucked under the belt, while at work, to keep away midges and other biting insects.

The Semas have a tradition of a time when fire was not known, and believe that at that date men had long hair like apes to keep out the cold, but the writer has never yet met one who could say how fire was discovered. The Changs attribute the discovery to two women who noticed a tiger[1] making it by pulling a thong under his claw. Until then men had been dependent for their fire on the tiger's benevolence.

It is genna to put out another man's fire deliberately. Such an act is believed to result in death in the household, in the owner's becoming poor, or dying, or even in the ultimate extinction of the entire family. If a man's fire is thus put out deliberately in the owner's absence, he cannot re-enter his house until he has sacrificed a fowl, or a pig and a fowl, which is eaten by himself and his family and the *awōu* or other village elder (*Chochomi*) who has been called in to make new fire, which is done with a fire-stick. The offence, however, is not necessarily very seriously regarded, as in March, 1917, Kukihe and Kumtsa of Emilomi compromised with their chief, Vikihe, who had put out their fires, at Rs. 2/- each.

Fire is occasionally almost personified. The village of Seromi was at one time repeatedly burnt down. At last an old man got burnt. It was at once said that now that a victim had been obtained the village would not be burnt for a very long time. This was many years ago, but no serious conflagration has taken place since.

Sticks which are curiously twisted, knotted, swelled, or otherwise deformed are not used for fuel, as their use is

[1] One tribe, I think the Angamis, attribute the discovery to a monkey which a woman detected in the act.

believed to cause a swelling of the throat. (The Changs attribute deformed joints to this cause.)

On the building of a new house or the renewing of an old one certain prohibitions and formalities are observed. The extent of these varies according to whether the house built is part of an entirely new village, is a new house in an old village, or is merely an old house being renewed. It also depends, in the latter case, on whether the house is that of a chief or of an ordinary villager.

In building a house for the first time in an absolutely new village, in which case the house is never more than a very temporary affair to serve until the new village is properly established and a more permanent house is built, there is no particular ceremonial. There is, of course, a ceremonial for the inauguration of the new village as a whole, but all that has to be done by the builder of a separate house is to prevent any person from any other village from crossing or passing close to the thatch, posts, and materials generally which have been collected for the building of his house.

In ordinary cases of building a new house, genna is observed by the builder for three days, during which he may not speak to or feed any person at all who comes into the village (after having slept outside it) during that period. On entering into occupation of a new house built for a newly-married couple, the bridegroom, in some Sema villages, kills a chicken and hangs it to the roof.

In renewing or repairing the house, a three days' genna is observed by the renewer as in the case of building, but in the case of the renewal of the house of a chief there are particular rites to be observed. When the hole for the erection of the carved centre front post is dug, a chicken is killed in the hole and the post is erected on its body. If the hearth is moved from its old site even a little, a chicken must be killed and cooked on the new hearth and eaten by the owner and his family. In the evening of the first day of building, on which the centre front post has been stepped, any two old men, called for the occasion *awupishekuchu*, pick out the best red cock obtainable and kill it by knocking

its head on the post with the words "*Akhüpushu, Alhopushu; atsü alashi; awo alapeghe; amishi alapeghe; timikokhu alapeghe; akini alashi; sü chini, ni chini,*" which is to say, "May you (*i.e.*, the post) have a long life; let dogs increase; let pigs be multiplied; let cattle be multiplied; let the seed of man be multiplied; let riches increase; let illness and decline be forbidden."

On this first day of building a pig is killed and pieces given to all who take part. The laying of the thatch is started first of all in the front of the roof by the most noted warrior in the village. He gets the off hind-leg of the pig. He is followed in laying thatch by another warrior, who gets part of the near hind-leg. A third warrior then starts to lay thatch further down the roof and gets a forequarter of the pig. The rest share alike. On this and the next two days the genna as regards persons entering the village must be observed as already described.

It may be noticed that almost precisely similar rites are observed by the Lhotas when building or rebuilding a morung.

The building of houses must be done either between the harvest and the sowing, or, again, between the sowing and the *Anyi* or *Ann* genna performed at the third cleaning of the fields.

When leaving a house to migrate to a new village, a hole is made in the thatch to allow the spirit of the house (*akiaghau*) to escape. Somewhat similarly, Semas building temporary shelters in the jungle or elsewhere usually burn or otherwise destroy them when leaving, for fear their souls (*aghongu*) should forsake them to go back and dwell in these temporary abodes.

The household. The household inhabiting the house of a poor man would consist normally of the man and his wife and two or three younger children, to whom may be added unmarried sons who would eat with the family but sleep in the *akishekhoh* of the chief's house. The Sema as a general rule has decidedly a larger number of children than the average member of any of the neighbouring tribes. In the case of a chief or rich man there would be from three to five, or

even occasionally seven wives, and often large families of a dozen or so children, a number, however, which would include the married sons and daughters not living in the house. At the same time, in the western villages, families are not nearly so large, one of the reasons for which is believed to be that more clothes are worn by the women. The large families are mostly found on each side of the Tizu and further east, where happy is the man who has his quiver full of them, in particular when he meets with his enemies at his gate. Indeed a large number of children is a great source of strength to a trans-Tizu chief. His daughters bring him profit in marriage prices as well as alliances, and many sons are even as " the arrows in the hand of the giant," for they go out from his village founding buffer colonies in all directions and facilitating the taking of revenue from weaker neighbours, securing the parent village and one another from attack, and often creating a small league of villages, something after the manner of an ancient Greek city state and her colonies. In the case of a chief, if he had few or no unmarried daughters, he would be sure to have in his house daughters of his dependants doing house-work and field-work for him and sleeping in the *abidela*. These would ordinarily be daughters of men for whom he had provided wives and in whose marriage price he would have an interest. By living in his house, well looked after by his wives, such girls are less likely to go straying after strange young men and damaging their value in the marriage market. An odd boy or two, likewise living under the chief's protection, would probably be found in the households of most chiefs, frequently an orphan whom the chief intended to provide with a wife and make into a recognised dependant cultivating his land and repaying him by work. A boy dependant of this sort would, with the chief's unmarried sons, sleep in the *akishekhoh*.

Besides the family, pigs, dogs, and fowls after their kind, and creeping things innumerable after theirs, also inhabit the house, but the former are usually confined to the *akishekhoh*.

Art. Art, in the sense of decorative art, is almost limited among Semas to the decoration of their dress, their weapons,

and their genna posts. To these we may perhaps add bamboos employed in building houses or for carrying water, which are decorated with wavy lines roughly parallel scraped on the outside, and basketry into which patterns are introduced in the weaving. In the case of dress, the decoration is effected by weaving lines of colour into the cloth when making it, by embroidering in coloured thread on the cloth, or by ornamenting it with patterns of cowries. In the first instance, that of decoration achieved in the process of weaving, the broad straight line of a colour different to the groundwork of the cloth is the commonest design, but designs of narrow lines, crosses, lozenges, and herring-bone pattern are to be found in dao belts and sometimes in loin-cloths. Designs embroidered on the cloth are usually executed in red cotton or wool (red, as among all Nagas, seems to be the most universally admired colour), and take the form of squares or rectangles composed of straight lines, lozenges, or crosses. They are usually of small size and applied very sparsely to the groundwork. Cowries sewn to the cloth usually take the form of straight or zigzag lines, and circles or semicircles, and trefoils, quatrefoils, or crosses of three and four cowries each. The human figure may occasionally be seen rudely applied in cowries to a chief's cloth; when found, it is of the crudest description and consists mostly of straight lines and angles.

Weapons are more often bought than made by Semas, but there are smiths here and there, and Shehoshe of Litsami went further than the smiths of, at any rate, any adjacent Naga tribe in the adornment of his spears and daos. The usual engraving on a dao is a herring-bone pattern round the margin of the blunt side and top of the blade, on one side only, with sometimes a rude scroll in the corner or centre of the top. The ornamentation on spears is made by narrow wedge-shaped punch-marks, as a rule in the form of hatching, or a series of little saltires or chevrons on the spear-head from the socket up the shank to the blade. Shehoshe was accustomed to ornament spear-butts with two double rings of chevrons, but the writer has never seen any other Naga spear-butts at all bearing any

sort of decoration, except a few Ao or Konyak butts, in which the iron is twisted spirally.

Genna posts, whether the front centre post of the house or the forked posts set up outside it, are carved both in high relief and with incisions, the latter taking the form of horizontal lines, crosses, circles, or arcs, and used to fill in space not devoted to the serious carving, which generally consists of mithan heads more or less conventionalised, and highly conventionalised representations of the article of ceremonial dress known as "enemies' teeth" (*aghühu*). This article of dress used to be worn at the gennas involving the erection of posts, but has gone out of fashion and is rarely seen now. Its representation in carving could not conceivably be recognised unless one was told what was represented; even then it requires a considerable exercise of the imagination to see any resemblance.[1] The only living thing other than mithan which seems to be represented in Sema art is the bird, which is carved out of a piece of wood and fixed to a crossbar between the "snail-horns" of the house. This dummy represents the bird called *cheung*,[2] which is said to be chosen for representation because long ago a pair of them came and nested in a hole in a beam in the house of one Kumtsü, a forebear of the Zumomi clan. The imitation *cheung*, however, are not confined to this clan, and it is said that formerly this bird was frequently domesticated by Semas, the father of Khowakhu, one of the present chiefs of Shevekhe-nagami, being mentioned as one who kept tame *cheung*. Tame *cheung* are still to be seen in some Chakrima Angami villages, Zogazumi, for instance. The sun and moon are also represented, usually as plain circles or concave discs, also breasts, singly, not in pairs, significant of success in love, and wooden dao slings.

Manufacture: Weaving.

What little the Semas manufacture is, as far as it goes, on the same line as Angami manufacture. In spinning, the process is just the same, the cotton being spun on to a

[1] The *aghühu* as carved forcibly recalls the carving on the round Kachari megaliths at Dimapur, and I have seen forked posts, like the forked stones, carved with the sun and moon.

[2] The *cheung* is the Great Himalayan Barbet, *Megalaema Marshallorum*.

Amiphoki.

Sketch to show method of making hearth. The fire is built between the three stones, which carry the cooking pot.

Chief's House in Vekohomi showing King-post (*atsüboshü*) carved with *aghühu* and highly conventionalised mithan heads.

[*To face p.* 48.

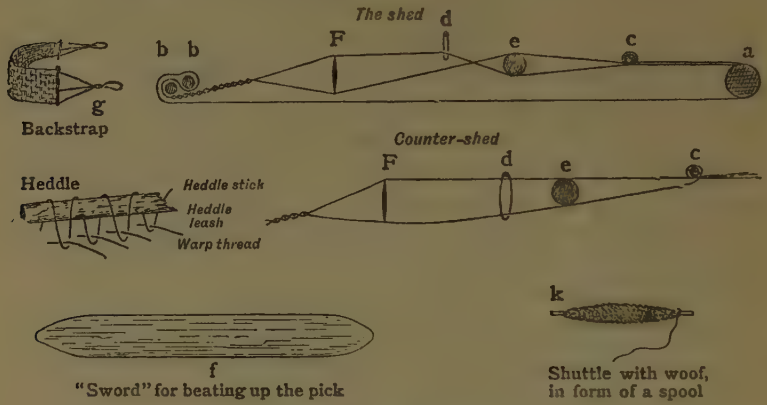
spindle (*azung*) weighted by a flat stone spindlewhorl (*azung-ti*)[1] and spun by rubbing against the thigh; but the Semas do not use the machine which the Angamis often do for seeding cotton, as they follow the more primitive method of a flat stone and a rolling pin. In weaving, the simple tension loom and its appliances are of precisely the same pattern as those of the Angamis. Like the Angamis, the Semas, in weaving cloths, use woof of one colour only, and introduce different colours into the cloth by laying them out in lines in the warp. A woof of different colours, however, is used in the weaving of the narrow loin-cloth, and diagonal patterns are also introduced into loin-cloths and girdles. Embroidered ornament is also used, usually in narrow lines of crosses and lozenges, which is sometimes, when fine Burmese thread from Manipur is used, worked on to the finished cloth with a needle made of umbrella-wire and a pick consisting of a porcupine's quill, but is usually worked into the cloth in the process of weaving by first putting in a stitch of embroidery and then beating up the pick, as Naga thread is too coarse to allow of embroidery after it is woven. Cotton is the only material used for weaving. Fibres are not used by the Semas, although, of their immediate neighbours, the Angami and Yachumi use them, if not the rest. As the weaving of fibres, which need no spinning, seems to have preceded that of cotton[2] among Nagas (some Konyak villages still weave in fibre only and do not weave, spin, or grow cotton), it may perhaps be fairly argued that weaving of any sort is, among the Semas, a recent industry introduced since cotton supplanted fibres for ordinary use among the neighbouring tribes from whom

[1] *Azung-ti* = "spindle-fruit."

[2] Fibre cloth undoubtedly preceded cotton cloth, and among the Changs too there are villages where cotton cloths are not known, while those that have taken to cotton are eschewing fibre. They have a tradition that a few generations ago even fibre cloths were unknown, and women wearing plantain leaves for petticoats carried their children in net bags on their backs, having no other cloths for their children. This tradition no doubt indicates the development of cloth from nets. The fibre used by Changs for both nets and fibre cloths is that of the nettle, called by them *sĕno*.

they have learnt the art, probably the Lhotas mostly, and in some cases the Angamis and Aos.

The method of weaving is better illustrated by a diagram than by lengthy explanations.



SEMA LOOM (*aghe*)

a. Beam—*akupa-sü* (= "opposition stick").

bb. Breast-rods—*apfolo-kupfusü* (= "belly-borne sticks").

c. Lease-rod—*aghethu* (= "loom boundary"), alternate threads, only, go round the lease-rod and under the shed-stick, the others passing under the lease-rod and over the shed-stick.

d. Heddle—*agheni* ("loom exchanger"), carrying a continuous leash, the tops of which fall over each side of the heddle alternately as above.[1]

e. Shed-stick—*aghepfu* ("loom-bearer").

f. Sword—*agheka* (= "loom-striker").

F. Sword in position, spreading the shed to facilitate throwing of shuttle. It is then turned flat for beating up the pick and taken out before counter-shedding.

g. Back strap (attached to forward breast-rod)—*aghaphi* (= "loom regulator"). It passes under the rear breast-rod.

k. Shuttle (with woof)—*achepfu-sü* or *agheche-sü* ("roll bearing stick," "loom roll stick").

The warp (*aghe-keghi*, = "loom-string") is wound continuously between the beam and one of the breast-rods, and the second breast-rod is used as a lever to increase the tension. As the fabric progresses the warp is shifted round.

The stick on which the beam rests is called *aghewochu* (= "loom-post").

[1] I have seen in Shitzimi a loom in which there was a separate heddle-leash for each thread of the warp, but this type is less common.

Sema Woman Spinning (Philimi Village). (The spindle revolves in a basket covered with a bit of cloth.)

Sema Woman Weaving (Shitzimi Village). She is about to shoot the woof, the warp being held open by the sword. The heddle here used is of the Ao pattern, which has a separate leash for each thread of the warp, a continuous leash as used by Lhotas being common.

[*To face p.* 50.

Weaving, which is done by women, and that only in a few villages, is subject to the prohibition that no weaving may be done while the weaver's husband has gone to fight, hunt, or trade. If this prohibition is not observed, the husband will get his legs caught in a tangle of creepers when going through the jungle, and thus meet with an accident.[1] Some Semas say that it is genna for their women-folk to weave at all, but the truth appears to be that this statement is only a way of getting out of the admission that they do not know how to weave.[2] Wives who can weave are often sought after, but, when taken to a village where the other women do not weave, usually abandon the practice themselves, despite their husbands. The villages in the Dayang valley and west of the upper waters of the Kileki and Dikhu rivers are the ones in which weaving is regularly practised.

Dyeing.

Black or dark blue (from the plant *Strobilanthes flaccidifolius*) very like indigo, yellow, madder, and scarlet are all known, but only black, blue, and scarlet are ordinarily used by the Semas. The yellow and pale madder dyes used alone by the Angamis are only used in conjunction by the Semas. The method of dyeing is the same, the cloth or hair being boiled in a pot together with the raw dyestuff. The scarlet effect is produced by first dyeing the material with a yellow dye from a plant called *lukuthoiye* [3] and then re-dyeing it with the madder dye (*Rubia sikkimensis*), the result being a brilliant scarlet or crimson. There seems to be something dangerous to males in the process of dyeing, for should a man light his pipe at a fire on which a woman is dyeing thread, he becomes a weakling and turns black in complexion.[4]

Metal work.

There are not many smiths in the Sema country, and Shehoshe died in 1916, but those there are follow almost

[1] Lhota women may not go themselves into the jungle, or even leave the immediate precincts of the village, before any cloth they have begun to weave is completely finished, but they could not tell me the reason.

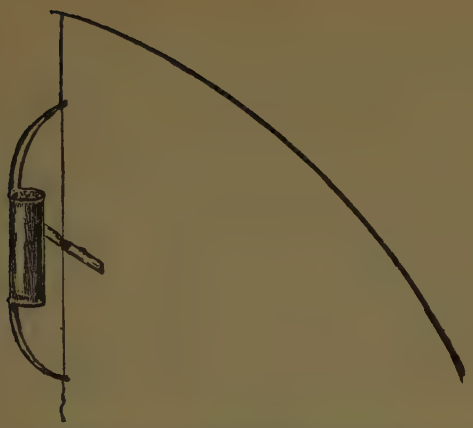
[2] It really is genna to weave in some South Sangtam villages such as Photsimi, and all their cloths are imported from neighbouring tribes.

[3] Perhaps an *antidesma*.

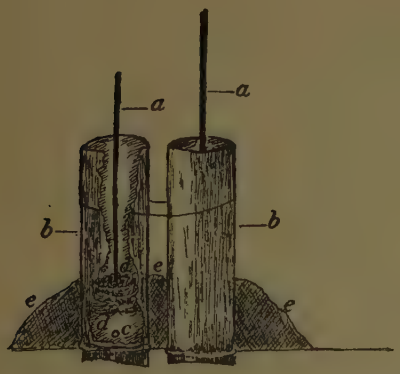
[4] Possibly the idea is that he loses strength, like the boiled dyestuff, and acquires colour, like the material dyed.

precisely the same methods as the Angamis. They are fonder, however, of ornamenting their weapons with very simple engraving and punch-marks. In tempering daos, moreover, bamboo pickles are not used, as they are by the Angamis, tempering being done in the same manner, but with brine only. The brine used for this is made with salt of Naga manufacture. In tempering spear-heads, chilli, and even nettle juice, is used, as well as salt, in order that the wound caused may be the more severe, the smarting and stinging propensities of these ingredients being doubtless acquired by the blade tempered, and the abstention from the use of chillies and nettles in tempering daos is said to be due to the great liability of a man to cut himself with his own dao, which is used for every sort of agricultural work. Daos are tempered at night, and the following morning the temperer, before defecating (or the dao will be brittle), goes and cuts with the newly-tempered dao a leaf of the "ekra" (that the dao may be sharp as this leaf, which often cuts like a razor) and bough of the wild fruit tree called *thumsü*.[1] Wild greenstuff may not be eaten by him that day or the dao will be blunt. Blacksmiths' work would seem to date almost entirely from the last generation among the Semas. The names used by them for the various implements of the smithy are, however, not adopted from their neighbours, though these are generally like the Angami implements in form. The bellows, however, though similarly consisting of a pair of vertical tubes, are more often of bamboo than of wood, while the pump that fits into them sometimes consists merely of a cane frame covered with bits of old cloth kept in place by more canework over the top of them, though it is more often made of chicken feathers. As among the Angami, the charcoal fire is laid against a flat stone back, to a hole in which bamboo air tubes connect the bases of the hollow bamboos which serve as bellows. The names used for the various implements are: Anvil stone—*athuwothu* (? = "stone-go-stone"). Hammer (of stone with wooden haft)—*ayikehethu* (= "iron hammerer stone").[2] It is made of a heavy stone, rounded

[1] It bears a sour berry. [2] Illustrated p. 66.



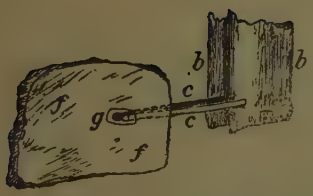
AUTOMATIC *KONKOHPPO* FOR SCARING BIRDS, ETC., FROM CROPS.



a. pump handle.
b. bamboo bellows tube.
c. hole connecting by bamboo with hearth.
d. pump of feathers to fit the tube.
e. earth and clay piled round connecting tubes and between bellows and fireback to prevent air leakage.

Scale, $\frac{1}{1\frac{1}{2}}$th nat. size (approx.).

View of Sema smith's bellows from behind.



bb. bellow tubes.
cc. connecting pipes carrying air to fire.
ff. flat stone fireback made of sandstone with hole *g* to admit nozzles of connecting tubes.
The space between *ff* and *bb* is filled in with clay. The fire is made in front of *ff*.

Distorted view of connection between bellows and fireplace.

ROUGH SKETCHES OF MECHANISM OF SEMA BELLOWS.

[*To face p.* 52.

by the action of water, in which a groove is made enabling it to be bound with cane to the haft.[1] Pincers (made of a split bamboo)—*ayiketsapfu* (= "iron-bite-lifter"). Bellows (of two upright bamboos)—*amikufūpu* or *amifu* (= "fire-blower"). Spears, daos, knives, and hoes are made of iron usually obtained by re-working imported hoes. The only other form of metal-work done by the Semas is the making of brass bracelets and earrings, which are merely made of brass bought in lengths and cut up and bent and sometimes hammered, and of wire bindings for dao handles. The brass used for bracelets is obtained in lengths the thickness of one's finger, while earrings are made of brass wire. The wire-work of brass or steel wire, which is done on the handles of daos to keep the wood from splitting round the tang of the blade, sometimes consists of a mere wire binding and is sometimes an intricate fabric woven on the wood and fitting as tightly to the wood as binding, and woven on the same principle as plaited cane-work.

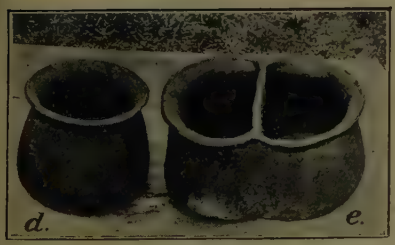
Pottery.

The Sema pottery is coarse and rough, and is generally limited to the plain round cooking pot with a flattened out-turned rim. It is made by hand alone, the clay being dug usually in the bank of some stream, carried up to the village, and then allowed to dry and season for a year or so. At the end of this time it is broken up and mixed in the proportion of 2 to 1, or 3 to 2, with the remains of old pots and shards which have been pounded to fine dust. This mixture is moistened and kneaded into a very stiff dough, which is ready for use when it shows no interior cavities when broken across. This dough is then rolled into round lumps about the size of a polo ball, or a little bigger or smaller according to the size of the pot to be made. Such a lump is then flattened out into a circular form on the piece of planking which is used for all these operations, and which is covered before this part of the process with a layer of fine ash. The beating is done with a wooden slat bound with string. Another lump is flattened out in oblong shape and lifted from the board and applied vertically to the first piece of clay, the ends of this second piece being joined down

[1] The same type is found in the Philippine Islands.

one side. The clay is moistened with a slip of water poured in small quantities from a gourd ladle, and the whole moulded by the hand into a more rounded form with a lip round the top, the outside of the pot being beaten over with the wooden slat already described, the other hand being placed inside to offer the necessary resistance. The joins are scraped over with a bit of broken gourd to render them invisible, and a final beating is given with a lighter slat of wood not bound with string but carefully smoothed and cleaned, care being taken that no grit gets into the clay. This slat is also used in moulding the lip. The pot is then placed upon the upper of the two screen-shelves that intervene between the hearth and the roof, and left there for several days.

Up to this point the whole process is performed by women, men not being allowed to touch the pots or even to approach too closely during their preparation, as this would cause them to break in the firing. The women of the household are genna on the day of pot-making, speaking to no one outside the household, and their own menfolk even may not be spoken to by them, or come close to them, after once having left the house in the morning, until the raw pots have been placed on the shelf over the fire. Here the pots remain for about a week, until a day has been fixed for firing them. This is done by both sexes together as a rule, the household being genna again to strangers. The raw pots have to be carried into the jungle, where they are " burnt " on a wood fire. The basis of this fire is made of fuel piled up to about 18 inches from the ground to form a sort of platform. On this a layer of pots is placed, covered by a layer of sticks, on which again are pots and sticks in alternate layers. The top is covered with thatch, dry leaves, and similar light fuel, and the whole fired. On the day of firing, until this has taken place it is genna for anyone participating to defecate, and if it is found necessary to do so the load of pots which such a person is taking to the jungle for firing must be deposited by the way and not touched again by him, and he must go back home and take no further part in the proceedings. The actual process of firing lasts about an hour, after which



(*a*), (*b*) Sema Woman Making Pots.
(*c*) The Pot in the First Stage and the Implements Used.
(*d*) The Finished Article.
(*e*) Double Pot from Tokikehimi for Cooking Rice and Other Food.
(*f*) Ceremonial Pot for use in Gennas.

[*To face p.* 54.

the persons engaged return to their house and put one of the pots on the shelf over the fire. This completed, the genna is finished and the pot-makers can speak to whom they please and do what they like. The pot which has been placed over the fire is ordinarily a miniature pot made with the others on purpose ; two or three such are usually made, but an ordinary pot will do. The pot thus set apart is not ordinarily used, except for ceremonial purposes, but there does not seem to be any definite prohibition against using it for ordinary cooking. Miniature pots are also made with handles, though ordinary cooking pots are never so made. These little pots with handles are exclusively used for ceremonial purposes. The handles are of the same material as the rest of the pot and are put on when making the pot. In Tokikehimi village a sort of double cooking pot is made with a partition in the middle for cooking rice and meat at the same time. Pots may only be made between the final reaping of the harvest and the sowing of millet in the following spring.[1]

Basketry is, of course, an important Sema industry, as it is employed for so many indispensable utensils, but there is no particular difference between the basketry of the Semas and that of the Angamis. Baskets and mats are woven by men and are of various patterns, principally variations of the twill pattern, and generally like the Angami baskets, but on the whole simpler. A favourite basis for a basket is a length of bamboo, say 4 feet long, ending in a joint at the lower end. The piece of bamboo is split down to this joint into a number of fine slats, which are held together by the joint at the bottom. In the simplest form, which is that of a very rough basket for carrying bulky articles on a journey or for a short distance, and intended to be thrown away when its work has been finished, these vertical slats are splayed out by three or four horizontal hoops of bamboo at considerable intervals and increasing in circumference

Basketry.

[1] It is possible that the object of this prohibition is to ensure proper attention being paid to agriculture, but there are other similar prohibitions, which cannot easily be so explained, and it is possible that pot-making may, like flute-playing, have some effect on natural forces which would be deleterious to the crops.

towards the top. In more elaborate forms for permanent use the upright slats are fewer in number and the intervals are filled in with regular basket-work. The open-work basket used for carrying firewood, called *amuthu*, has a square instead of a pointed bottom.

The patterns of cane-work most commonly used are plain chequer, known even to women, and called *tokhaiye* (implying that it quickly wears out); the simple twill, or *vulaiye* (because it is known to everyone); a variation of *vulaiye* called *küthuye* because three strands are taken together instead of two; *avishepuye* (= "bison's forehead"), another variation of the simple twill, extra strands being worked in to give a diamond pattern; *veli* and *veliabu*, simplified forms of *avishepuye; chomsiye* ("the crab's breast"), in which the groundwork of *küthuye* is variated by squares in which eight or ten strands are taken together instead of three, and interlaced so as to quarter the square; and *yeghoki*, a very fine and intricate pattern used for rice-carrying baskets and also based on the simple twill. A wicker pattern is used in making doors of split bamboo. Cane-work is also used to make the fillets worn by brides, which are woven of thin strips of cane dyed red, and of yellow orchid-stems pressed and dried.

Ivory, bone, and shell are not much worked by the Semas, who usually buy what they want ready-made. Round white shell buttons, however, are made from fragments of shell purchased from the Angamis and used as fastenings for *akecheka-'mini*, "loin-cloth-belt," and for boar-tush collars. Bone spreaders for shell necklaces are also made, and buttons are made of segments of small bones cut and rubbed smooth and tied in the middle. The holes in bone necklace spreaders are usually made with rough drills of umbrella wire. Round shiny white buttons of a small size obtained from the plains are very popular, and used for the decoration of garments.

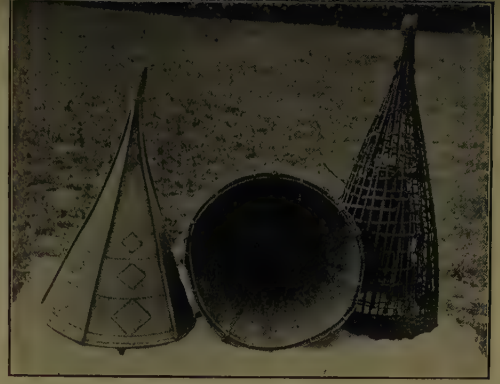
Musical Instruments.

The only genuine musical instruments used by the Semas are the flute (*fululu*) and the Jew's harp (*ahewo*). These are made and played in exactly the same way as those already described as being made by the Angamis. The use of the flute is forbidden to women, for fear, it is said, that they

SEMA INTERIOR (*ÁBISHÉKHOH*) SHOWING *ABOSHU*.

(N.B. The inside of a Sema house is quite dark. This photograph was taken by flashlight. The skulls are relics of feasts given by the owner.)

[*To face p.* 56.



SEMA BASKETS.

The one on the left, woven very fine to carry rice, shows the pattern called *avishepuye*, the lozenge perhaps suggesting the blaze on a mithan's forehead.

PATTERN USED IN BASKET-MAKING CALLED *CHŌMSIVE*.

WOODEN LIQUOR VAT.

might by skilful playing seduce the young men and become depraved. Anyone, however, may play the Jew's harp, and at any time, though even males may not play the *fululu* between the sowing and the reaping of paddy and Job's tears for fear of causing wind to damage the crop.

The flute consists of a simple length of bamboo, closed at one end by the joint, open at the other. Two circular holes, one near each end, are burnt in it. The player holds the open end against the flat palm of his left hand and blows into the hole near that end. The closed end is held in the right hand between the thumb and the first and third fingers, and the hole stopped with the second. Frequently the player squats so that this end of the flute can be rested on his knee or on the ground if the instrument is long enough. The Jew's harp is a flattish fragment of bamboo cut out so as to leave a tongue in the middle which vibrates. There is a notch at each end, to one of which a cord is fastened. The whole is placed between the lips, held at one end by one hand, and string jerked by the other to make it vibrate. The string is attached to the notch at the root of the vibrating tongue.

The wooden drum, *sheku*, made out of a huge tree hollowed, and beaten for deaths, war, and various gennas, is not a genuine Sema instrument, and is only found in villages of the Chophimi clan, such as Yehimi and Kiyetha, and others which, like Satami, contain an appreciable admixture of Sangtam blood.

There are, besides the *fululu* and the *ahewo*, a bamboo whistle which is blown as a key is blown and used for scaring bears, pigs, and deer from crops, as well as other devices for making a noise, which can scarcely be described as "musical" instruments. All these latter seem to be known by the name of *kohkohpfo*, a term which is applied to cow-bells, clappers worked by hand to scare birds, and automatic sounding instruments for the same purpose. Cow-bells are made of a shell which consists of a section of bamboo used horizontally and having an opening cut along its whole length, in which the clappers are hung. These are made from bits of an old spear-shaft and are therefore very hard.

They are hung round the necks of cattle, particularly of mithan. The clappers are of the simplest description. A piece of thick bamboo consisting of two joints is split from the top to the bottom knot, which serves as a hinge. The lower joint is then cut away so that one half may be held in one hand and the other in the other, the two halves are separated and smacked together, and the concussion of the opposite edges on both sides of the top joint—which also acts as its own sounding board—makes a very loud noise. The automatic clapper is more elaborate. In this case three joints of bamboo are taken, and the top and bottom joints are each cut away to a single narrow strip at the back, while a slot is cut in the front of the middle joint. The whole affair is hung on a long string, which is tied tightly to the bent and notched ends of the projecting strips, giving the instrument the form of a bent bow. To the middle of what may be called the bow-string a wooden clapper is tied by its waist, and as the whole swings in the wind, this clapper strikes first on one side and then on another of the slotted middle joint of the bamboo, and when there is any breeze keeps up an incessant clattering.

Currency. Salt, never made by the Semas themselves apparently,[1] used to be obtained from the Ao, Tukomi, Sangtam, and other neighbouring tribes. The salt from the Tukomi country was used, in small flat cakes, to serve the purpose of currency to some extent, as it still does in the Yachumi country, while the same purpose was also served by the narrow blades of worn-out daos, one of which was reckoned to be the value of a cock, *i.e.*, about 8 annas. Strings of broken conch shell beads and bits of bamboo, such as are still used in Tukomi villages, are said to have been also current in the Sema country; where they are now current they represent the value of about 4 annas. The "chabili" current in the Ao country were also known in the Sema country, but it is not known what value they had. Among the Aos one "chabili" represented a day's work, or 4 annas. The Sema equivalent was a brass bead, and a string about a

[1] Probably the Semas, like the Changs, boiled their rice in brackish water from salt-licks, when they could not get made salt.

foot long of such beads is still occasionally given. A great part, perhaps the greater part, of the trade done by the Semas is still carried on by barter.

Agriculture.

Like other Nagas, the Sema is above all things dependent on his fields for his existence, and it is perhaps owing to the very primitive and therefore laborious nature of his agriculture that everything in his life almost is made subordinate to the agricultural year; for although terraced and irrigated cultivation has been adopted by a few Sema villages on the edge of the Eastern Angami country, and an attempt is being made with gradually increasing success to introduce it among the other Sema villages further north, it cannot yet be regarded as more than an occasional and exotic form of cultivation, and the villages that have adopted it from the Eastern Angamis have generally either taken to Angami custom and dress entirely, like Swemi, or are in the process of taking to them, like Hebulimi. Villages like Chipoketami and Mesetsü were probably at one time purely Sema villages, but are now usually reckoned Eastern Angami, though the element of Angami origin is probably small. The genuine Sema method of cultivation is jhuming pure and simple. The land is cleared and cultivated for two successive seasons, after which it is allowed to go back to jungle again for a cycle of years which varies according to the amount of land available. When there is enough land, seven years is usually reckoned the shortest time in which the land can become fit for recultivation, and ten or twelve years is usually regarded as the normal period for it to lie fallow, while fifteen to twenty is regarded as the most desirable time to leave it untouched, though land near a village, being more convenient for cultivation, is rarely if ever left so long as that. In the Tizu valley, however, and in parts of Kileki valley where the population has much outgrown the supply of suitable jhuming land, jhums may often be found cleared after only five years' rest, and in some villages even after three, while loads of earth have to be sometimes actually carried and dumped down in the rocky parts of the field to make sowing possible at all. Of course, under these conditions, the crops are very poor,

and the villages live in permanent scarcity. The general introduction of irrigated terraces is a very pressing need, and unless largely carried out in the present generation, it is hard to see how the next can be saved from starvation. The reason why jhum-land has to be left fallow so long is no doubt partly due to the fact that it becomes exhausted if deprived of the natural manure in the form of falling and rotting vegetation, and very largely to the fact that when the larger trees and heavier growth of vegetation are cleared away, weeds and low vegetation quickly spring up and increase at such a rate that by the third year it becomes almost impossible to keep the sown crop clean enough of weeds to give a yield even remotely proportionate to the labour expended. When the jungle is allowed to grow up high so as to deprive the low growths of air and light, they are temporarily exterminated and cannot reassert themselves at once. The same result, of course, follows annual inundation in terraced fields, though these must be regularly manured if they are to maintain their standard of crop.

In jhuming the Semas do not, as some tribes do, first burn and then clear, but they clear the land, cutting down many of the trees, and then burn, afterwards cutting down the burnt trunks of the remaining trees, and then clearing up the fields and digging the ashes into the soil. Neither do they all imitate, at any rate to the same extent, the excellent Lhota practice of stripping the trees of all their branches and leaving a bunch of green leaf at the top so that the tree does not die, but branches out again when the two years' cultivation is finished. On the contrary, many of them cut the trees down and burn them entirely. The staple crops consist of rice, Job's tears, and millet, but a large number of subsidiary crops are grown in among the first two in small quantities, and Job's tears themselves are often treated as just such a subsidiary crop to rice. The following list includes practically all the crops grown by most Sema villages. The names given are used in Seromi village :—

aghi, paddy (of various kinds).

akiti, Job's tears (*Coix lachryma*).

kolakiti, maize (*kolakiti* = " Foreigners' *akiti* ").

asüh, Italian millet (*Setaria italica*, L.).

amu, a cereal similar to Italian millet, but with larger grains and several heads to a stalk.

atsünákhi, the Great Millet ("juar") (*Sorghum vulgare*, Pers.).

a'i, "kachu" (*Colocasia Antiquorum* and other varieties).

atsüna, a kind of onion (*Allium*).

gwōmishe, chillies (which also go by a number of other names).

ayiku, pulse.

akhekhi, *kuwuti*, *ketsüti* } varieties of climbing bean.

atsü, black sesame (*Sesamum indicum*).

akini, a white oil seed (*Perilla ocimoides*, L.).

aghwo (or *aghü*), the seed of which is used for making the yeast called *aghükhu*, and also occasionally as a food (*Chenopodium murale*). It is known in India as a form of "*Bethua sāg*."

aka-khu-ni, the leaf of which is used for making the yeast called *akakhu*. A form of wild brinjal (*Solanum indicum*, L.).

ahengu, pumpkin.

akukha, cucumber.

apokhi, gourd.

aghani, mustard ("lai patta"), the leaf being eaten, not the seed.

yekhiye,[1] a plant with a yellow flower somewhat resembling that of cotton; the sepals and young leaves are eaten for their acid taste.

Naghu-kuphu (cock's comb, *Celosia plumosa*) is often sown among crops, not as an edible, but simply for show, though when sown at the edge of cultivation it is believed to frighten away the wild pig.

The agricultural year begins normally about November, when the women begin to clean the previous year's new jhums for sowing again as old jhums and the men begin to clear fresh land for the new jhums. About two months

[1] Or *yechuye*. After abstaining from vegetables during genna, this vegetable must be eaten before any other.

later the fields are burnt, the old fields being burnt by collecting and firing the stubble of the last crop, while in the new fields the felled and cut jungle is burnt. The fields are then cleaned and raked, the unburnt rubbish being collected and burnt and again raked over, and finally sown. The old fields are usually sown with millet alone about February or March, and the new fields are ready and sown with paddy about April, but of course the season varies very much according to the locality, being more advanced in low and hot places. The sowing [1] of paddy is generally reckoned to begin when the constellation of Orion (*Phógwosülesĭpfemi*) is in the zenith or when the voice of the *Kăsūpăpō* is heard in the land. The *Kasupapo* is a species of cuckoo,[2] which no doubt derives its name from its call, and of which it is told that the father of a man named Kasu, having died, appeared to his son in a dream and told him not to sow until he should come and call to him. Everyone else in the village sowed his seed and the seed sprouted and still Kasu heard nothing from his father, and the blades of corn grew up and still he heard nothing, and at last, when the rest of the crops were grown quite high, Kasu said, "My father has forgotten. If I do not sow now it will be too late," so he got ready his seed and started for his field. And as he went down the hill he heard on a sudden his father calling loud and clear "Kāsu pa po! Kāsu pa po!" (= "Kasu, his father"), and then he knew that the time had indeed come, and sowed his seed gladly. And of all that village he was the only one that year who reaped a harvest, for the paddy of the others died in the ear, having been sown too soon. From that time forth the Semas have waited to sow paddy until they hear the Kasupapo. Chillies are sown first, then "kachu," maize, gourds, pumpkins, and cucumbers, and finally grain—in the colder

[1] Sowing is performed in the last quarter of the moon so as to get the benefit of the rain that always falls "to wash the face of the new moon." There is at least as much in this as in the superstition of one of the ladies of the local missionary society, who believed as firmly in sowing at the new moon as she did in the observance of genna on Sunday, "because seeds sown at other times don't grow so well." *Cf.* p. 220.

[2] The Indian cuckoo—*Cuculus micropterus.*

places Job's tears alone and in the better land paddy with lines of Job's tears among it.

From now the cleaning of the old jhums goes on until the millet has got high and the fields can safely be left. By this time the new jhums have begun to claim attention, and they must be cleaned regularly until early in July, when the millet in the old jhums is reaped. Then the new jhums are cleaned again and again almost until the grain begins to ripen in September, though some of those who have time to spare from the new jhums start as early as August to clear the land which is to furnish the new jhums of the following year. The harvest is reaped in September or October, or even November in cold places. Many of the Eastern villages are unable to grow rice at all, and Job's tears is their staple crop, as it will thrive in the most inhospitable localities.

The sowing is done, not by scattering the seed broadcast, but by sprinkling it carefully into little hollows made usually by the men with a blow of the small digging hoe (*akupu*) and scraped over by the women following with the horseshoe-like scraping hoe of bamboo or bamboo and iron (*akuwo*). The grain in reaping is stripped from the stalk by hand straight into the pointed basket in which it is carried to the field-house, a small shed which every man builds in the field to keep implements, for a shelter from the rain, and for a temporary store-house if necessary. The process of stripping the grain by hand is painful and causes much bleeding. Some say that this method of stripping by hand is followed because long ago, when the Semas reaped with daos, a man slashed open his stomach and so died, but this story is only known in certain villages.[1] In stripping the grain by hand the heads of corn nearest

[1] I was told this in Kiyeshe (Sakhai), but most villages deny all knowledge of this legend. A possible reason is that the Semas till recently could neither make nor obtain reaping-hooks. The practice can scarcely be caused by a fear of taking iron into the harvest field, as spears and daos are taken there as a matter of course. The Changs used to follow the same practice, but most of them do not grow rice at all, and Job's tears are cut down stalk and all with a dao, and in the case of millet the whole head is torn off by hand. The Manö and southern Brò (Karen tribes)

the reaper's basket are gathered into a bunch and twisted round as in wringing out a cloth. This makes the grain fall from the stalk, and the bunch, before being released, is given a bang against the side of the basket to knock out any remaining grains. The process is quite effective and obviates threshing. The baskets of grain are taken as they are filled and deposited on mats in front of the field-house, where they are winnowed with a basket-work tray to remove bits of stalk, grass, and other foreign matter. The winnowed grain that cannot be carried away at once is piled up in the field-house to await transportation to the village.

About a stook of corn close to the field-house is left unreaped, and tied together at the top so as to leave a little shrine-like hollow underneath with some heads of grain clearly hanging over above. Inside this hollow the ground is cleared and eatables and a "lao" of "madhu" are placed. These are taken away when the workers leave, and the liquor, at any rate, is liable to consumption while they remain; but the ears of corn which form the head of this shrine may not be touched until the whole crop has been harvested, after which they are themselves garnered. This procedure is followed to attract the ancestral familiar spirit (*aghau*) which will secure the fertility of the owner's crops and his prosperity in general. The shrines are called *aghaghubo* (lit. "wild paddy tree"),[1] and sometimes several are made near the field-house, but eatables and drink are not placed in more than one or two of them.

In the village, grain is stored in granaries which are built like miniature houses in rows, but raised from the ground and lined with bamboo mats, usually far enough from the village to give security from fire, but nowadays sometimes closer to give security from theft, a compromise

follow the same practice as the Semas (*Gazette of Upper Burma and Shan States*, Part I, vol. i, p. 535), and indeed the Manö seem by their vocabulary to have some linguistic connection—more, that is, than other Karens. The Garos also reap in the same way (Playfair, *The Garos*, p. 34) and the Lynngam and Bhois of the Khasia Hills (Gurdon, *The Khasis*, p. 40), these Assam tribes having, as the Sema certainly has, pronounced Bodo affinities (*cf.* Gurdon, *op. cit.*, p. 198).

[1] So it was translated to me, but I fancy it is really the "*aghau's* rice plant." *Cf.* p. 348 n.

Aghaghübo at Alapfumi, in the foreground part of the mat on which the reaped grain is cleaned.

A Typical Sema.

Harvesting.

Carrying Home the Millet Harvest.

[*To face p.* 64.

between these two being difficult, since theft is no longer punishable by death, and the respect for property is not what it used to be when the boys never went away to service in Kohima, and the scarcity of land, and therefore of food, was little felt. It is, by the way, genna to take matches to the field in harvest-time in those parts of the Sema country where matches have come into use, the fire-stick only being used. A few say that the reason is because matches are made of tiger-flesh, and more, with greater probability, because when struck they are so quickly used up.[1] The Lhotas also have a prejudice against taking matches to the harvest fields, though it is now waning. Many things are forbidden to the Sema at harvest; beef may not be eaten because it smells and the spirit of harvest would flee at the smell of it; onion leaves are forbidden for the same reason; honey and the honeycomb, wild fowls, and the abandoned kills of tiger or leopard may not even be touched, nor, for that matter, any cattle, goats, or dogs. In fact the only things that may be eaten during the reaping of the crops are pork, fish, and crabs, and, by women, fowls, though women who have eaten of them may not approach the place before the field-house where the grain is piled up. Cattle, both mithan and kine, and goats are not allowed to pass through the village during harvest, nor, above all, any fragment of a tiger or leopard or a human corpse. Nor may men at harvest-time go to the river by night to catch frogs, since, wading along with an "ekra" torch, their legs become very clean in the water and change colour, and the frogs jump and jump, which would make the grain harvested be quickly consumed. Thread may not be dyed, and whosoever is caught dyeing it, the man who sees her may take up the boiling pot and break it on her head. Black thread may not even be exposed to dry, because of the smell that there is from it. The Asimi clan may not eat in the house of a man of another clan for about two months before the harvest.

For the protection of crops, besides the wind-clappers already mentioned (p. 58), sticks split so as to show the white

[1] The Changs give the latter reason for the same practice.

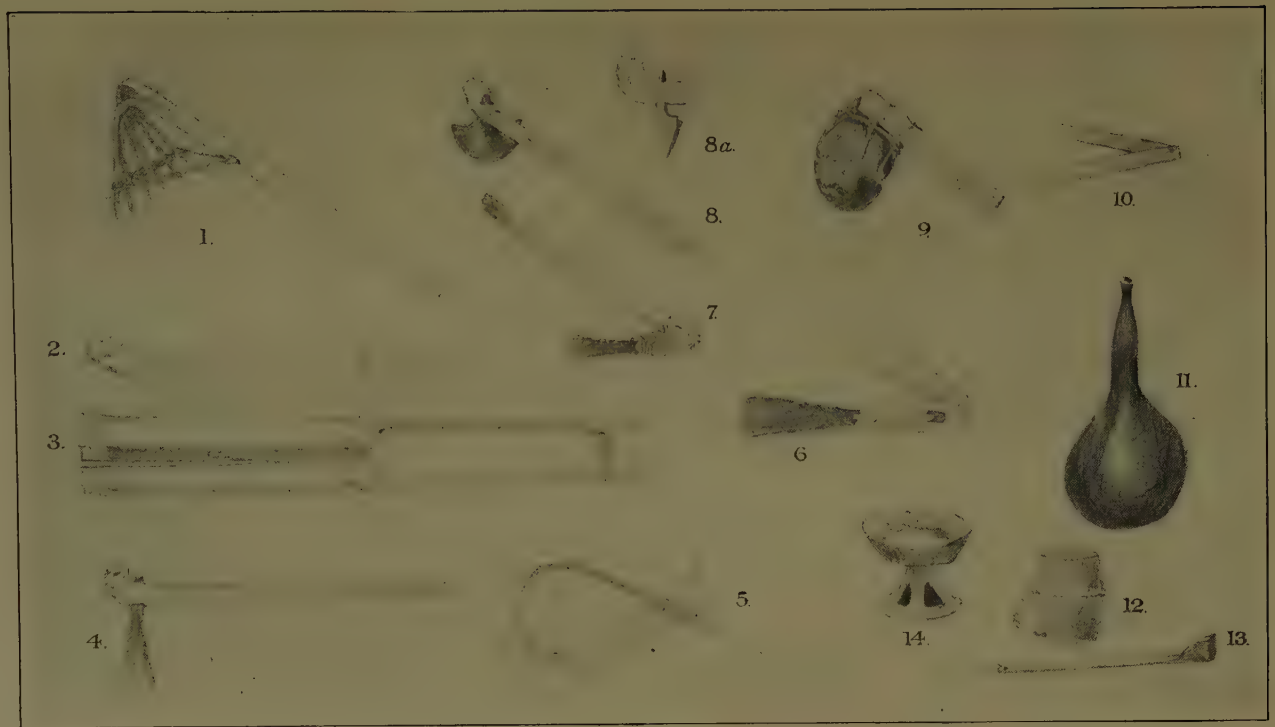
inside, split bamboos, and whitish leaves are used to scare animals, and the erection of these is usually accompanied by a genna, the cultivator refraining from speech to strangers on the day of erection, and his whole household observing the genna until the man himself has gone to his fields, while no article may be removed from the house before then. The half-hoops of split bamboo placed round fields to keep off wild pig are believed to frighten the pig because of a tradition that once upon a time one end of one of these hoops, being released by a boar, and springing suddenly out of the ground, carried away the boar's testicles. To circumvent squirrels, which do considerable damage to newly-sown Job's tears, and the "bloodsucker" lizard (*atakheh*), which is credited with a similar destructiveness, a genna is observed as above, and a number of bitter things, leaves and seeds, etc., are sown in small quantities in each hollow scraped to receive the grain. This, together with the erection of white rods, etc., is believed to protect the crops. Possibly it does.

The implements used in agriculture are as follows :—

Amŏghu, an axe consisting of a haft of bamboo root with a long, narrow, flat, celt-like blade wedged into a hole at the top. This blade is about 1 foot long or less and from 2 to 3 inches broad at the cutting end, but much narrower at the other. The *amoghu* is used in agriculture for clearing virgin forest or other jungle where very large trees have to be felled. The blade of the *amoghu* may also be used as an adze (*akaghü*), for which purpose it is lashed to the wooden handle of a hoe.

Azhta, the "dao," is used for all ordinary jungle clearing as well as every other conceivable purpose. It is used frequently as a hoe, the unsharpened corner being often worn down almost as much as the blade.

Akupu, the digging hoe with a crooked handle made from a forked bough, is of two sizes—*pushyekupu*, the larger, used for digging up new land, and *hangokupu*, the smaller, used only for sowing. (An *akupu* must always be given by the bridegroom to the mother of a girl when she is first married.) A variety imported from the Yachumi



1. Rake, *akuwü* or *achaka*. 2. Mallet for breaking clods of earth, *atheghashi*. 3. Bamboo clappers for scaring birds, *kohkohpoh*. 4. Axe, *amoghu*. 5. Bamboo hoe, *akuwa*. 6. Larger iron hoe. 7. Smaller iron hoe. 8. Yachumi hoe, *tafuchi*. 8*a*. Same as 8, side view. 9. Blacksmith's hammer (of stone), *chishithulu*. 10. Blacksmith's tongs (a piece of bamboo doubled). 11. Gourd for holding liquor. 12. Bamboo cup (with cane handle). 13. Spoon made from a nodule of bamboo. 14. Wooden platter roughly imitated from Sangtam pattern.

Scale, $\frac{1}{12}$th nat. size (approximately).

[*To face p.* 66.

country is called *tafŭchi*. It has a broad blade with shoulders.

Akuwo, the "horse-shoe" or "necktie" hoe, is made of a sliver of peeled bamboo bent round in the shape of a horseshoe with the ends prolonged to cross and afford a hold for the hand. It is made of pliant bamboo, tied into shape, and hung up near the fire, where it is kept for six months or a year or more. As many as seven or eight are used by one worker in a day. Occasionally hoes of similar pattern, but with a curved iron blade, to each end of which the bamboo is fastened to complete the "neck-tie," are imported from the Lhota or Ao country, where they have generally superseded the bamboo form. The Semas, however, prefer the bamboo one as lighter and handier, enabling more work to be done in a given length of time than the iron-bladed form, and as not injuring the shoots of young corn when clearing the growing crop, which the iron-bladed form is very liable to do.[1]

Akuwa or *achaka*, the rake, is made of a stick split up at one end, with the split parts bent at right angles, dried and hardened so as to make four or five fingers of more or less equal length sticking out from the end of the stick, and tied with cane to keep them at right angles to the handle.

Apeghe, or *apoghu*, the winnowing fan, is simply a sort of handleless shovel-shaped tray of bamboo matting.

Akwoh, the grain basket, is a very finely woven bamboo or cane basket pointed at the bottom and built up on the basis of a split bamboo.

Akwozhe, a sieve, made of finely-split bamboo and used for cleaning millet, etc.

Athehesü, a club of wood or bamboo root for breaking up clods of earth.

Natural crops.

Unlike the Angamis, the Semas, generally speaking, do not preserve firewood in plantations. Property in individual trees is, however, everywhere recognised, and in the immediate vicinity of any village most Naga oak or alder trees belong to some particular individual, who has marked the

[1] *Cf. Man*, July 1917, "Some Types of Native Hoes, Naga Hills" (Balfour).

tree as his own when it was small, in just the same way as a schoolboy establishes a prior claim to, say, the corner seat in a railway carriage by some such expression as "Bags I." In fact, the attitude of mind which governs relations between the individuals and the community of any Naga village, the views as to *meum* and *tuum*, and what must, may, and may not be done, together with the absence of private life, is most vividly reminiscent of that which obtains among English schoolboys and regulates their unwritten codes, and which seems to be so quickly forgotten by those who have grown and become masters, the schoolboy code having been contaminated in them by a different view of morals altogether. As a sign of property, by the way, a stick or a growing sapling, cut off at about 4 feet from the ground, is used, the top being covered with a bunch of greenstuff doubled over and tied round. This probably represents a man, signifying that some man has taken possession.

Besides Naga oak and alder trees, which are particularly valued as firewood, other trees, such as "tez patta"[1] for curry, and timber trees for planks, are also reserved by individuals, while thatching grass together with the land on which it grows is the subject of private property, though a person not requiring his thatch in any particular year gives leave to a neighbour in need of thatch to cut it without asking for any payment. It may not, however, be so cut without leave. Bamboos, like trees, are private property, belonging, as a rule, to the man who planted them and to his heirs, irrespective of the ownership of the land on which they are planted. It is quite common for a man to plant bamboos on someone else's land, and, if near the village, the owner of the land is not entitled to uproot even newly-planted bamboos if he did not forbid the planting before it took place, and must clear a fire line round them when jhuming his land. If, however, bamboos are sown at a distance from the village, the owner of the land on which someone else has sown bamboos may uproot them and cast them out. Cane is reserved, like trees, where found, a sign being placed by

[1] *Laurus cassia.*

MITHAN BULL WITH CANE FOR LEADING IT TIED ROUND HORNS.

SEMA MITHAN (*Avi*).

[*To face p.* 69.

it consisting of a post, the top of which is made into a very conventional likeness of a man's head by notching the post to represent the neck. Further notches are often cut when the place is visited as evidence of continued reservation.

Live-stock.

The cattle (*amishi*) kept by Semas consists of the domestic variety of gaur or "mithan" (*Bos frontalis*) called *avi*, black humped cattle (*achuka*), common cattle (*kolaghu*), and the hybrids, *aselhu*, by mithan out of *achuka*, and *avyega* (or *kiveghu*), by mithan out of *kolaghu*.[1] These hybrids seem to be fertile. They are kept for the sake of their flesh (mithan beef is excellent) and are not milked, except in rare cases where they are kept by men who have been servants to Gurkhali graziers near Kohima, though the milk of the mithan is very rich and Semas have no objection to drinking it when they can get it. Buffaloes (*aēlī*) are not kept by Semas, except by one or two men of Lazemi who have got them from graziers. Goats (*anyĕ*), pigs (*awo*), fowls (*awu*), dogs (*atsü*), and cats (*akwossá*) complete the number of domestic animals, of which the latter only are not eaten, for though hunting dogs are never eaten by their owners, they may be sold for food when of no further use for hunting. Domestic cats, as usual among Nagas, are the subject of various superstitions, which have probably arisen owing to the extreme value of the cat as an exterminator of mice and rats, the depredations of which are very serious when corn is scarce and granaries only made of thatch and bamboo. Cats have been introduced only recently and are still unknown in the remoter Sema villages. It is believed that if a man asks the price of a cat, and refuses to give the price named, his paddy rots after being sown and his voice becomes husky like the purring of a cat. The purchaser of a cat performs a ceremony with it inside his house to prevent its running away to the jungle, which cats are apt to do. Two plantain-leaf platters are laid out just inside the doorway of the house, the left-hand one containing a little rice and the right-hand one six scraps of fresh liver, and in between them another bit of plantain-leaf bearing ashes from

[1] For animals of various markings and for other crosses between different breeds there are a number of special names, *e.g.*, *titsüba* for a pied mithan.

the hearth. The cat is then held with its face over the ashes and is made to take oath that if it crosses its owner's threshold it will be struck by lightning, its face being dipped three or four times to the ashes and its purchaser repeating the oath for it as follows :—

" *nono*	*akikala*	*vecheaye*	*amsü-no*	*o-chakküpeni ;*
" you	threshold	if cross	lightning	shall strike you ;
tighenguno				*tushokü-peke."*
for this reason				oath is administered to you."

After this the unfortunate cat is held to the meat, which it must eat, and then to the rice. Should it prove refractory, a small portion, first of the liver, then of the rice, is forced into its mouth. Hunting dogs (*shi-ha-tsü*),[1] as has been mentioned, are never eaten by their masters and are usually treated with more kindness than the common cur which is no use for hunting (*atsüzü* = " dog-water " [?]). If a good hunting dog dies it is often buried with a bit of an old cloth as a mark of respect for it as the companion of man ; in its lifetime it is looked after and treated with affection. The genuine Sema dog has a short close coat and the long-haired woolly dogs (*atuma-tsü*) are importations from the south or east. Black or black and white, the former predominating, is the usual colour of Sema dogs ; the alien woolly kind, however, are often red. Names for dogs are various, and foreign names are often now given. Of the genuine Sema names for dogs *Hakiye*, *Havili*, and *Shiku* are the three principal ones. *Hakiye* means " ahead in hunting " and is applied to dogs ; *Havili*, applied to bitches, means " good at hunting," while *Shiku* is the name of an old man in a story, blind in one eye, who was set to watch drying paddy to scare away the chickens from it. He neglected to do so, but the owner's dog kept rushing out and scaring off the chickens, so the owner abused the

[1] = " Meat-chase-dog." The intelligence of the Sema dog may be gauged from that of one which I had which succeeded in losing its collar. After a time I provided it with a new and, I suppose, less comfortable collar which it could not get rid of. At last it went away and came back later in the day from the jungle with its old collar, which it carried round until it found someone to take off the new collar and put back the old one.

old man, telling him that he had not the heart of a dog, and called his dog " Shiku " as being more fit for the name, since when it has been applied to dogs. The writer has known of a case in which one chief, Hoïshe of Yehimi, called his dog Sakhalu after a neighbour of some renown, which was taken as a serious insult and ended in court, while another acquaintance, Hekshe of Seromi, named a pair of dogs after the chief of a Yachumi village and his wife. A name used for the woolly dogs is *Tuma*, taken from the name of the breed. The Semas dock the tails only of bitches, and crop the ears as well as dock the tails of dogs.

A favourite dog is usually killed when its owner dies. It is killed just as its body is lowered into the grave that its soul may accompany his. In the case of a man who has killed a tiger, leopard, or bear, such action is necessary, and if he possesses no dog at the time of his death, a dog is bought for the purpose in order that its soul may go with that of the dead man and guard him on his way to the village of the dead from the attacks of the beasts he has killed and whose souls are lying in wait for his. The flesh of a dog killed in this way is eaten by the Burier (*amushou*), except in the case of the Chophimi clan, who (perhaps following some Ao custom) divide it among those present like the flesh of the other animals killed at the funeral, and the southern Zumomi, who divide it among guests who do not belong to the dead man's clan.

In the case of pigs all males are castrated not later than the age of three months, or earlier if they are forward in growth. They must be able to propagate their species before that time, for no boars are kept for breeding purposes. At the time of castration both the pig's ears and tail are cut and then bored, which is believed to make them grow large quickly.[1] Sows are not docked or ear-cropped. The ears of cattle are cut or slit as a mark of ownership, but not in the way that the ears of pigs and dogs are cut. The reason given for docking the tails of dogs is to prevent

[1] Semas do not eat castrated piglets till after the ligature has been removed. If they ate them while the cotton ligature was still in the cut they would catch their feet in creepers in the jungle and be tripped up and entangled.

their putting them between their legs in fear, the notion being that it is this practice which makes them afraid, and that if this action is prevented by docking the tail the dog will always be courageous. The reason for docking the tails and boring the ears of pigs is said to be to distinguish easily the sex of the pig, and this is perhaps borne out by the fact that when the pigs are quite small it is quite common to cut a small piece of one ear to distinguish the sex, the operation being completed at the time of castration, the point being that little pigs (or dogs) wanted for eating are chased and killed with a stick. The cutting of the ear prevents the accidental killing of the females, which, owing to their breeding value, are kept. The breed of chickens kept is a small and poor one, in appearance closely related to the wild jungle fowl (*Gallus ferrugineus*), with which it undoubtedly interbreeds at times, while a cross between the domestic fowl and the " kālij " pheasant (*Gennæus horsfieldi*) has been found in Kilomi. It is a curious point that the Sema names of the wild fowl (*laliu*) and wild pig (*amini*) should differ so entirely from the corresponding domesticated species (*awu* and *awo* respectively) which they so closely resemble. Perhaps, like the words " beef " and "mutton" in English, it indicates a fusion of races or cultures.

Bees are not kept by Semas, though private property in wild rock bees is recognised, the first finder acquiring property in the nest which is taken yearly for the sake of the honey and the grubs. If any of the persons who help to take the nest die during the year, it is put down to the bees, and the nest is not disturbed again, and sometimes a failure of crops is ascribed to the same circumstances and is followed by the same abstention by orders of the chief. Chastity must be observed the night before taking a bees' nest, as, if not, the bees sting the taker, who is also liable to be killed by enemies, and before the bee-takers leave their houses early in the morning to secure the nest, nothing whatever must be taken out of the house. Should a domestic animal give birth to young, or a fowl hatch chickens within three days of going to take bees, the owner cannot go.

This prohibition, by the way, attaches to the birth of all domestic animals. In the case of mithan, which are kept in a semi-feral state, and visited from time to time, three days' genna is observed from the probable date of birth, so that if the calf appears more than three days old no genna is observed; the owner, though not allowed to go to his own fields during such a genna, may go to other people's to work. When a number of mithan cows have calved in one year, each calf has three beans of the great sword bean (*alau*) tied to its neck, and a little pig[1] is sacrificed to make them still more fruitful. The liver is cooked, and five scraps are set apart for each cow and heifer calf and six scraps for each bull calf. These scraps are rubbed on the mouth of the animal to which they are allotted, and all are then collected, tied up in a plantain-leaf, and thrust into the thatch of the owner's house from the inside. If on this occasion a kite should carry off a chicken or a piglet, all those mithan become *ketseshe* ("apodia") and will probably fall into a hole or be taken by a tiger or meet some similar death by mischance.

In the case of cows, as for mithan, three days' genna for a birth is observed. The birth of a litter of pigs gives rise to a three days' genna, during which no Naga beans (*akhekhi* or *akyekhü*) may be eaten.[2] In the case of dogs white oil seed (*akini*) is not eaten. There is no genna for chickens, except on the day on which they are taken out from the nest (usually hung up on the wall inside the house), or on the following day if they are not taken out till night. One who accidentally touches the basket containing the chickens before they are taken out may not go to the fields on that day. The shells of the hatched eggs are kept on a string in the house till they fall to pieces of themselves, as it is thought that this promotes the prosperity of the chickens, for all the world as an Irish peasant places the shells of his hatched eggs on the top of his hen-coop.

The observation of *akipīkĕhĭ* (? = "don't address the

[1] By some a chicken.

[2] Some abstain also from pork, wild vegetables, the beans called *khuithi*, sesame, and oil seeds (*akini*) as well.

house ! "), as this three days' genna is called, entails the abstention from speech with strangers and from the eating of crabs. The genna for the birth of dogs, though not called *akipikehi*, is treated as though it were.

It may here be noted that it is a common practice among Semas to hold shares in a beast. Thus one man may own half a mithan, the other two quarters of which (all spoken of as " legs ") are held by two more men, all three belonging to different villages.[1] This practice is also occasionally extended to pigs, while a man who keeps any female domestic animal for another man is usually entitled to share the offspring. As regards injury committed by animals, a Sema can claim that a dog that has bitten a man shall be promptly killed, after which it would ordinarily be cooked and eaten by its owner. Cattle that are dangerous must be at once sold out of the village or else slaughtered, while a beast that has injured a human being must be killed, though even in this case, as also in that of a dog that has bitten anyone, immediate sale away from the village would probably be usually sufficient. Sema custom recognises no damages for cattle trespass, but in the case of animals that damage crops consistently, the owner must be fairly warned, after which the man whose crops have been repeatedly damaged may, if he finds it in his field, spear the offending animal ; but it is his duty to notify the owner that he has done so, so that the owner can remove the flesh.[2] In the case of animals fighting and one being killed or injured, no compensation can be claimed (except, of course, if one of them was urged on), but a man with a pugnacious beast may be warned to remove it, and a claim will stand against him if he fails to do so.

A man keeping cattle owned, or partly owned, by another has to notify this owner at once in case of loss or injury, or

[1] The obvious disadvantages of this are balanced by the advantage of distributing one's ownership in different places when the recurring epidemics of cattle disease occur.

[2] The custom of claiming damages for cattle trespass is gradually being extended in the Kohima sub-division as a result of orders in court based on Angami usage. There are also indications in Mokokchung villages that the payment of damage for cattle trespass will before long be insisted on.

Arizona State Museum

he becomes himself responsible for it. The usual terms on which the care of pigs, dogs, goats, and chickens is undertaken are equal division of offspring, but in the case of cattle the owner pays the keeper yearly a cloth and one rupee, or, if distant, five rupees.

Hunting.

Guns being scarce in the Sema country, hunting is still carried on regularly on the old plan. Parties of men go out with hunting dogs, and while some follow up the game in the jungle, cheering on the dogs, others wait with spears in the place where the game is expected to emerge into more open ground, the course taken by it being indicated by the persistent barking of the pursuing dogs. This method of hunting has already been fully described in the Angami monograph. Sometimes whole villages turn out to hunt in this way; but in the case of deer, serow, bear, and pig the hunting is mostly done by small parties, the whole village only turning out for the pursuit of tiger or leopard.

In dividing the game taken in hunting certain very clear and definite rules are observed. To those who own or work the dogs is given "the dogs' share," *atsüsa*, consisting of the two hind-quarters,[1] the actual dogs getting each a small portion of the ear, of the tongue, of the liver, and of the stomach. The first spear gets the head and neck, the liver and the heart; the second the loin, giving shares to any others that may have put spears into the animal before its death. One fore-quarter is given to the chief of the village, and the rest is divided among all who took part in the hunt, the dogs again coming in for shares on this ground. Should the animal be killed on the land of a friendly village, something is given to the chief—often one of the legs of the "dogs' share," if the proper recipients agree to this, or a fore-quarter or part of the ribs.

Should game be killed, before pursuit by the original pursuers has ceased, by a different hunting party or a cultivating party in the fields of another village, as often happens, the "dogs' share" must be given to the huntsmen whose dogs put up the game to start with. This is a point of etiquette most strictly enforced. It should be added that

[1] The head is regarded as the "dogs' share" by the Lhotas.

in hunting dangerous game, such as pig or bear, the dogs' share consists only of the lower half of one hind-quarter, in view of the personal risk run by the men who compose the hunting party, which is regarded as entitling them to a larger share of the meat. In the case of tiger or leopard, dogs are not employed, and the division of the spoils is much the same as in the case of the killing of a human enemy, tiger and leopard being reckoned for many purposes as practically equivalent to men.

There are a certain number of gennas regularly observed in connection with hunting, some of which approximate very closely to those observed in the case of war or head-taking. At the opening meet of the season,[1] if the expression be permitted, until the owner or worker of hunting dogs has left the village for the hunt nothing must be taken out of his house. On all occasions of hunting a halt is made after leaving the village and the omens taken by making fire with the fire-stick, the smoking tinder being passed six times round the best of the hunting dogs. The favourability or otherwise of the omen is determined by the nature of the break in the bamboo thong used for making fire. An unfavourable omen does not entail the postponement of the hunt. These omens are usually taken by one or more of those who bring dogs to the hunt, but can be taken by almost anyone, particularly by persons who have a reputation for obtaining correct prognostications ; but it is absolutely necessary that the taker of the omens should have remained chaste the preceding night, and should this condition be unfulfilled in the case of anyone asked to take omens, he refuses to take them and requests someone else to do so. It is held that should the omens be taken by one who has not been chaste the previous night the dogs will turn stupid and perverse, over-run the scent, and generally behave in an untoward way. One is tempted to infer from all this that the form of taking the omens was originally intended rather to control the action of the game

[1] The Sema observes no close seasons for game (except when made to do so), but hunting with dogs on an extensive scale usually stops towards the end of May, because it is apt after that to damage the young corn. Hunting is in full swing again after the harvest is in.

than to obtain foreknowledge of the result of the hunt. Chastity is also regarded in the light of a measure of personal precaution, and as such is frequently observed by persons intending to hunt dangerous game on the following day. Hunting parties usually go out on days when it is genna to work in the field, so that plans for hunting are made at any rate the day before, and are rarely the result of a sudden impulse. The hunter who takes the head of the game killed must remain chaste that night, in addition to which he may eat no rice until the following day. Whoever kills a tiger must remain chaste for six days. He may eat no rice the first day, and for the whole six days may not eat any vegetables except chillies, nor any meat except pork, and he must sleep away from home, or at least away from his women-folk, on a bed of split bamboo to prevent sound sleep, during which the soul of the slain beast might attack and devour his own. This genna is said to have originally been observed for thirty days (the Changs keep a very strict thirty days' genna for the killing of a tiger), but among the Zumomi clan, at any rate, the genna is believed to have been reduced to six days at Nunomi, whence the custom spread to Sukomi, and so to all the villages of the Zumomi clan. Finally, no huntsman may eat game which he has killed himself. The Sema makes no compromise in this matter like the Angami, who may eat game that he has killed himself after he has killed 150 head in all, and he keeping his own score. The reason of this prohibition is perhaps a feeling that to eat the body of the game he has himself killed is to afford a handle to the posthumous influence of the animal killed, which will of necessity be malignantly disposed towards him.

In hunting tiger and leopard the Semas do not, like the Lhotas and Aos, build a palisade, but merely surround the animal with spears and shields. The dead body is treated much as that of an enemy, at any rate in many parts of the Sema country, the head being taken back to the village and hung up outside it where the heads of enemies are hung. The tail too is usually cut off and taken away, the body being left to rot. A fashion, however, of putting up the

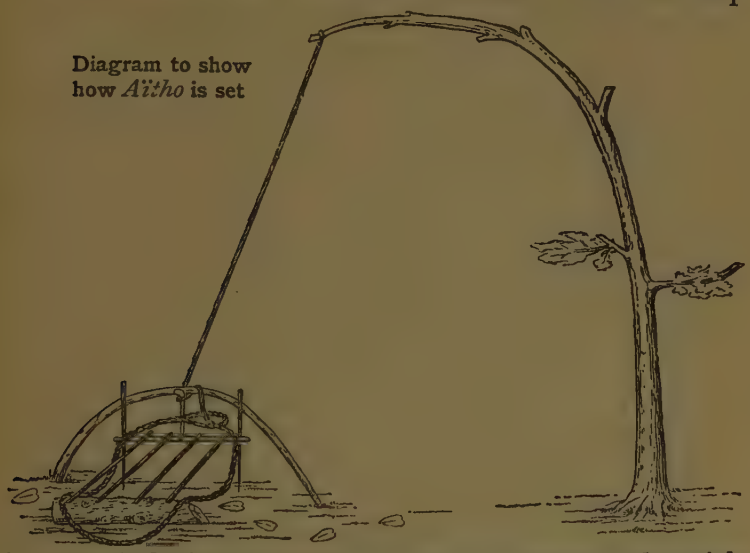
body on a platform by the nearest village path and leaving it there for passers by to see (and to admire the prowess of the slayers) seems to prevail in the Northern Sema villages. Probably it is a recent imitation of the Ao custom of exposing the body of the tiger or leopard killed on a platform just outside the village. Boars' tushes, by the way, may not be worn by the killer of the boar that grew them, though he may wear the tushes of any boar which he has not killed himself.

Of traps and snares the Semas use the pitfall (*akhwo*) like the Angamis, digging a pit, putting long " panjis " at the bottom, and covering the top with light brushwood, thin sticks of reeds, etc., sprinkled with earth and thickly covered with dead leaves. They also place panjis, three or five as a rule, but not four, as this would be unsuccessful (" there is luck in odd numbers "), in a path used by deer, where the deer has to jump over a fallen tree which hides the panjis, on to which the deer jumps and is impaled. The same method is used in the rice fields, a high fence being built, with here and there a gap, where the fence is cut down to half its height, the panjis being placed inside the gap to impale the deer or pig jumping through it. The fall trap (*zheka*) is used in the fields for monkeys and baited with a cucumber. When the monkey pulls at this a bamboo shelf loaded with stones falls down and flattens him. Snares, *akesü* (the Angami *kesheh*) and *avafu*, on the same pattern as those depicted in the Angami monograph, are used as well as three other varieties, *aïtho*, used for deer ; *ashepu*, another of the same type ; and *sügŏtsa*, used for snaring pheasant, partridge, and other birds.

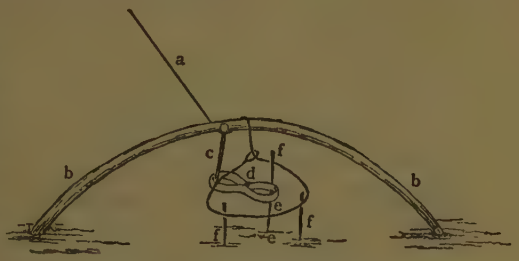
The snare called *aïtho* is made by attaching a long rope of the fibres of the sago palm (*aithobo*) to the end of a bent bough. This rope ends in a running noose behind which is a peg. A hooped stick is stuck down into the ground in a hollowed place in a track used by deer and the top of the peg caught up underneath it. The rope is taken over the hoop and the noose spread. The peg is held in place by a short stick resting horizontally across the hoop against two vertical sticks. On the horizontal stick other sticks are

rested at right angles to it and passing under the noose and raised from the earth at the other end by a bit of wood. The whole is covered with dead leaves. If the deer steps

Diagram to show how *Aïtho* is set



in the circle formed by the noose he depresses the sticks which rest on the horizontal stick which holds the peg in place. This releases the peg and the bough springs back into position, suspending the deer by the noose, which has run tight about its leg.



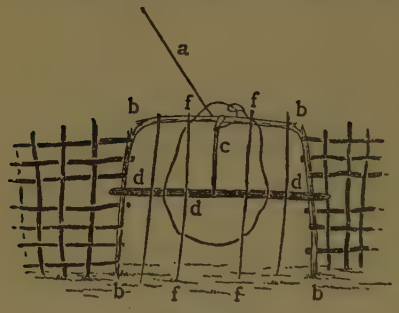
Ashepu.

a, cord attached to spring (as in *aïtho*); *b*, hoop (as in *aitho*); *c*, peg (as in *aïtho*); *d*, bait in centre of bamboo loop in which the point of the peg is caught; *e*, stick by which the bamboo loop is kept in place; *f*, *f*, spreaders on which the noose rests.

The *ashepu* is set on the same principle as the *aïtho*, but on a very much smaller scale, and with a bait which necessitates a slightly different method of release. The peg, instead of being caught on a

horizontal stick, is caught in the end of a little bamboo loop, the other end of which is caught on a stick stuck into the ground. The bait is fixed in the middle of the bamboo loop and the noose spread round it on twigs stuck into the ground. The pheasant pecks at the bait, for which a bright red and black seed is used, and depressing the loop releases the peg, so that the noose is snatched up, suspending the bird by its neck. For the spring of a trap of this sort a bent stick will serve.

The snare called *sügotsa*, again, is made on the same principle as the *aïtho*, but the noose hangs vertically from the bar, light slivers being propped against the latter to keep the noose spread, and a miniature fence made on each side of it in the run in which it is placed, so as to make the bird enter the noose. The hoop is made of a stick bent twice so as to give it a horizontal top and vertical sides, against which the horizontal stick, which retains the peg, is laid.



Sügotsa.

a, cord; *b*, *b*, hoop; *c*, peg; *d*, *d*, *d*, horizontal to keep peg in place; *f*, *f*, *f*, spreaders for noose.

The bird in passing through displaces the horizontal stick and is caught up in the released noose.

Although hunting rights are limited by the boundaries of the village land, beyond which game already started may be pursued, but outside which fresh game may not be hunted or sought for, snaring rights are not so limited. It is well recognised that snares may be set on the land of another village, and where the respective villages are not at enmity they will be allowed to remain. The ownership of the game caught in snares is not always respected, and it is not regarded as a punishable theft to take birds from another man's snare, though it is looked on as a low thing to do. In the case of deer snared it is absolutely genna to abstract

the meat from another man's snare, and such a theft is believed to be inevitably followed by paralysis of the limbs and spine of the thief. One Ikashe of Sheyepu stole a deer from the *aïtho* of one Povilho, of the same village, still alive at the time of writing, and, when met carrying the animal, said he had speared it, which was in a sense true, as the deer was alive when he found it, and he had dispatched it with a spear. Having fallen ill of rheumatic fever, or something of the sort, he sent for Povilho and confessed his misdeed and asked him to make peace with him in the formal manner. This would have entailed Povilho's bringing a leaf of water to Ikashe, who would on his part have brought a leaf of liquor in his right hand and a piece of meat in his left. First of all Ikashe would have burnt his piece of meat in his fire. Then Povilho would have taken the leaf of liquor, dipped his chin in it and thrown it away, and Ikashe would then have done the same with Povilho's water, and the offence would have been purged. Povilho, however, refused. Ikashe had not even given him the head of the deer, and had spoilt his snaring, so that he had never been able to catch anything since. Accordingly Ikashe became paralysed, and died in agony crying out "*aïtho, aïtho.*" Fact.

Of taking fish the Semas have some seven methods, some of which are practised in varying ways, and all of which are not practised by all villages.

Fishing.

The names for these methods differ, and there are possibly other ways which are not recorded here. The methods here given are, however, all in vogue in the Tizu valley in one village or another, many of them practising all the seven methods mentioned. There are (1) fishing by weirs (*akhu*), in which the fish are caught in baskets facing upstream and inserted in holes in a weir built across the river of stones, sticks, bamboos, and mud. This method is probably practised by all Semas within reach of any large river, though so far as is known to the writer they do not ever put their basket traps facing downstream like the Changs. (2) Fishing with the rod. This method is universal and consists in attaching a fine line of twisted fibre

to the tapering end of a light bamboo, and an iron hook (usually of umbrella wire) to the end of the line. The bait usually consists of a cricket, grasshopper, or worm, and is flicked out on to the water in likely places, allowed to rest a moment or two, and withdrawn. The rod is called *ashuli*, the line *akheghi-kipeli*, the hook *akha-kemusse-i*, and the bait *ashi*.[1] (3) Fishing with a fish-noose (*aikeghi*), which consists of a running noose, attached to the end of a stick, which is held in front of a fish swimming in the water and jerked tight as it passes through. It can, of course, only be used from a rock or bank from which it is possible to look over and see the fish as they move in the water, which must be fairly clear. It is only practised in some villages, notably Yezami. (4) Fishing with a net. There are three sorts of nets, the large drag-net (*shithi*), the small drag-net (*akhame*), and the landing-net (*akhasho*). The *shithi* needs a dozen men to drag it, while *akhame* can be worked by four men. The two are often used in conjunction, the fish being driven up into the corner of a pool with the *shithi* and surrounded and hauled out with the *akhame*, though if very big fish are taken they have to be extracted with the *shithi* itself. These nets are worked by being dragged by men wading in the river or on the bank at each end of the net, which is in both cases a long and heavy arrangement made of fibre, and, in the case of *shithi*, with a large mesh which serves more to frighten the fish than to entangle them. The net is weighted with stones tied to the lower edge or with lumps of some heavy gum or rubber wrapped round the cord that forms the lower edge. The material used in making it is, as usual, twisted fibre, of which there are many kinds known, two of the principal being species of jute and of nettle, the skin of which is used. The hand-net, *akhasho*, is used generally in conjunction with some other method of fishing, but in muddy water, when a flood is subsiding and the fish are rising and feeding freely, it is sometimes used by itself, being simply thrust under the rising fish, which

[1] The bait, whatever it is, *must* be spoken of as "*ashi*," or the fish will not take it: *ashi* = flesh, meat. So, too, the Changs when baiting with a worm must never call it a worm (*khinkin*), but *kau-yang* ("earth-insect") or *yàk-pit* ("bead string"), as if called a worm the fish will not touch it.

is probably in a semi-stupid condition as a result of the flood. The spear is also used occasionally to take fish in the same circumstances, the speared fish (they do not stick to the spear, since the ordinary unbarbed weapon is used) being either retrieved by swimmers or picked up stranded at the nearest shallows or weir. The drag-net is a method that can only be used rarely and in a few places, as the current and rocks of the hill rivers usually forbid its use. (5) Fish are caught by hand in three ways at least. They may be taken by simply holding a cloth or a basket at the mouth of a small stream where it runs into the river,[1] and keeping it there for fry and small fish to fall into, which at the right time of year they sometimes do in large numbers, together with spawn deposited by fish that have come up the river in the rains and spawned in the little tributaries temporarily swollen to an abnormal size. This method is called *akhalho*. Catching fish in shallow water by hand is called *apeli*. Usually the water is diverted from one side of the river-bed to the other side by means of a low dam of stones and earth, and the fish taken out of the puddles and hollows left in the bed of the stream. This is a universal method of taking fish when the water in the river is low, but fish are also sometimes taken by hand in deep water (*akhakhu* is the word used), when they are more or less blinded by mud or numbed by cold. It is not a method in extensive practice, because the majority of Semas cannot swim, but is done sometimes even by those who cannot swim, a long bamboo being thrust down to the bottom of the river and held by men on the bank, while a man climbs down the bamboo with a stone in his waist-belt, as a sinker, and gropes in holes under the bank for any fish that may be there. A fish caught is immediately grasped with the teeth to prevent its wriggling away.

(6) One of the best-known ways of fishing is by "poison" (*aïchi*),[2] a creeper being beaten into the water till the juice of

[1] I have seen a casual passer-by use an umbrella for a similar purpose to great effect, but in the plains, not in the Naga Hills.

[2] *Acacia Intsia*. Another creeper called *suïchi* (probably a *Milletia*) is also used. The *aïchi* leaves are used for killing vermin on the human head.

it intoxicates and stupefies the fish, which are then caught with the hand-net, or killed with a dao and taken by hand. They are also caught stranded in shallows and weirs and sometimes taken in deep water on the bottom of the river by divers who use a stone to sink with, and grope for fish in the river bottom. Diving, however, is a rare accomplishment in the Sema country. When all the inhabitants of a Sema village, or, as occasionally, several villages, turn out to " poison " (the misnomer " poison " is used because it is an expression in common use for this ; the Sema word *aïchi* does not mean " poison," which is *thughu*) for fish in a river of some size like the Dayang or the Tizu, the take is sometimes a large one. More often, however, it is totally out of proportion to the labour entailed. At least a whole day is occupied, before the fishing takes place, in searching for the roots and stems of the creeper used, carrying them back to the village, and giving them a preliminary pounding. On the actual day of operations the village proceeds to the river, each man carrying his bundle of creeper-fibre already frayed out and partly crushed and slung on a cudgel over his shoulder. If there is more than one village taking part they signal one another's departure for the appointed spot by smoke signals, and arrive at the chosen place at approximately the same time. As the men of each village come down to the water, they close up into an irregular column and move slowly towards it with drawn daos and much " Ho-ho "-ing, this being a sort of challenge to the river to do its worst against them. A " poisoning " of this sort is always regarded as in some sense an act of war upon the river and its denizens. Arrived at the river, the men deposit their bundles and set to work to fell large trees the trunks of which will stretch across the shallows where the water is to be impregnated. The place chosen for operation is always a shallow rapid above a deep or comparatively deep pool, where there are believed to be fish in some numbers. Dams, or rather benches of tree-trunks and boulders, are made across the stream, and each man lays his bundle on one of these and stations himself before it with the cudgel in his hand. Long rows are thus formed stretching across the stream of bundles

of creepers on rough benches, as it were, each bench between two rows of men facing one another, stout short sticks in their hands. In the middle, perched on a boulder, is a chief or the son of a chief, who controls operations. He too has a stick, but not for beating creepers. The women and children of the village have by this time arrived and are crowded on the bank to look on. The Sema does not (like the Lhota) tabu the presence of his women-folk on these occasions.

When all is ready the beating of the creepers begins at a signal from the chief in the middle. The beating is done by the opposite rows alternately and in strict time, not haphazard, as by the Lhotas and Aos. One line bring their cudgels down while their *vis-à-vis* raise theirs over their heads. After a few minutes of steady rhythmical beating the directing chief gives the signal to stop, when the cudgels are laid down, and the bundles of creeper dipped into the water. The beating is then continued again for a few more minutes, when the creepers are again dipped, and so on until the juice has been entirely beaten out of the creepers and is swirling down the river in white suds and discoloured eddies. When the chief gives the order to stop altogether, the beaters throw down their cudgels and rush to the lower end of the pool above which they have been working. Meanwhile the women and children and elder men have assembled on the banks with baskets and landing nets and, with the chiefs and other persons too important to take a hand in the actual beating, are waiting to take their share in the proceedings. No one is allowed to go downstream till the beating is over, after which everyone does what he likes to secure fish. These latter are apparently intoxicated by the juice of the creeper and swim feebly about on the surface of the river, displaying a strong tendency to come to the edge. Some are fished out with nets, some killed by cutting them with a dao, and some are taken by swimmers and divers, for though the majority of the Semas cannot swim, in most villages near rivers a few are to be found who can, and these take a stone, sink to the bottom, and grope there for drunken fish. The women and children pick up the smaller fish in

the shallows. When the catch is a large one, the capture of fish may go on till nightfall, and for half a mile or a mile or more downstream, for though the effects of the *aïchi* rarely extend for more than 50 yards, the helpless fish are washed down until they happen to get stranded, where they stay till picked up, being usually too sick to swim away. Of course many of the fish in the rivers are only slightly affected, and the unavailing struggles of one or two swimmers to take or kill with a dao a large and lively fish which is far enough gone to keep coming to the surface, but still very far from being helpless, are often quite amusing. The effect of the juice of this creeper is very different on various species of fish. A species of carp (*Labeo*) with an overhanging upper lip, a bottom feeder which makes the broad lines on stones so familiar in these Naga Hills rivers, is very susceptible to the "poison," which, if fresh and plentiful, often kills a fair number. On the various varieties of mahseer, however, the creeper juice has a very much milder effect, and generally does nothing more than intoxicate the smaller ones, even a very large quantity seeming to have but small effect on fish of 6 or 7 lb. and upwards, while mahseer of as much as 10 lb. are rarely if ever taken in this manner. To the destructive fresh-water shark, on the other hand, the "guriya mah" of the Assamese, probably *Bagarius yarrellii*, the intoxicant is most deadly, and a very small dose of it kills. This fact, taken in conjunction with the rarity with which "poisoning" operations are attended by a large destruction of fish, gives some ground for supposing that the use of this creeper as practised in the Sema country might be even perhaps more beneficial to the river as a whole than otherwise; for it is the writer's experience, after seeing a number of "poisonings" on a large scale, that the bag of fish is usually small, out of all proportion to the labour involved, and though a number of fish is yearly killed in this manner, the kill is probably not greater than the river can bear, while the predatory fish are so effectually prevented from increasing that they probably do not breed in the river at all, but consist solely in the few individuals that find their way up

from the plains in the rainy season.[1] Apparently the *aïchi* juice sinks to the bottom of the river, so that the mahseer and even minnows swimming nearer the top escape from the full effect of it. It should be added that when Nagas speak of fish " dying " as a result of operations such as have been described, they are frequently only alluding to the intoxication of the fish, from which it recovers as the pure water comes down stream, which in the rapid hill rivers it does very quickly. More harm is possibly done by the small parties that go out from time to time to catch fish in this manner in the smaller streams where the mahseer spawn, but these operations are on a very small scale indeed. It is only once or twice in the year that any village conducts a fishing of this sort on a large scale, and when it does the operation is usually a comparative failure. A very much more deadly poison for fish is said to be still sometimes used by the villages on the banks of the Dayang, though not known further east. This is the poison known to the Assamese as " deo-bih," and it is used in a different manner, being sometimes, if not always, sunk in the river overnight, but its use has recently been forbidden in British territory. It causes the death of fish for a considerable distance down the river, and persons drinking of impregnated water suffer from a considerable swelling of their whole bodies and a good deal of pain. It is, however, decidedly untrustworthy, and it seems not infrequently to fail entirely to have any effect whatever, though sometimes exceedingly destructive. The Aos use walnut leaves and a sort of fruit with a hard kernel. The latter, at any rate, is much stronger than *aïchi*.

Another method of using *aïchi* which the writer has seen employed is to take a small quantity and stuff it into the holes, under the banks of the river, in which there are known to be fish. The presence of the fish is quickly recognised when the *aïchi* is applied, as it causes the fish to exude or expectorate a small quantity of slimy substance like saliva

[1] After writing the above I discovered that Mr. Soppitt, writing in 1885 (*Historical and Descriptive Account of Kachari Tribes in North Cachar Hills*—reprinted Shillong, 1901), came to the same conclusion (p. 52).

(it is called *akhamthi*, " fish-spittle "), which is detected in the water at the mouth of the hole. If this substance is found the *aïchi* is replaced until the fish are reduced to a condition in which they can be taken by hand. In the employment of *aïchi* in this manner three or four men or so go out together with long bamboos, which are thrust down to the bed of the river in pairs and held there slightly apart. A man with a stone in his belt then descends—he need not be able to swim at all—by the two bamboos and puts the *aïchi* into the holes where the fish are, and comes up again. When the fish are to be taken out the fishermen descend in turns, staying under until they have got hold of two or three fish, which they bring up in their mouth and one hand, usually holding on to one of the bamboos with the other.

But of all the Sema methods of fishing that (7) called *akhaki* (= " fish house ") is perhaps most characteristic of the Sema as opposed to other tribes.[1] In the cold waters of the Tizu river a spot is selected near a deep pool known to be frequented by fish, and a long tunnel about 20 to 30 feet in length is built of loose stones, leading away from the pool in fairly shallow water. The end is likewise blocked by stones. The fish in the cold weather congregate sometimes in numbers in this dark *impasse* and are removed by hand some morning when they are numbed with cold.

Gennas connected with fishing appear to be few. Should a member of the village suffer a birth in his house, whether of a human or a domestic animal, on the morning of a " poisoning," he and his household are not allowed to attend, and the bundle of " poison " prepared by him is taken from the general pile and cast away. It may not be taken to the river. When a man is going fishing with rod and line he speaks to no one at all that day until he has finished angling, lest the fish should hear him—a very sound precaution this when on the bank of the river, but it is perhaps carrying it further than absolutely necessary to credit the fish in the

[1] I have seen Hill Kacharis practise a very similar method, though in their case the " fish house " is surrounded by a net when the fish are to be removed.

river in the valley with being able to hear him speak in his village on the top of the hill.

The food of the Semas consists primarily of a monotonous diet either of rice or, in those villages which are in such high and exposed situations that rice will not grow, of Job's tears—an uncompromising cereal which Nagas unused to it are unable to digest and strongly resent being asked to eat. Occasionally as a last resort millet is eaten as a substitute for either of these, but it is normally used only for brewing and is most unappetising boiled, and boiling is the only method known to the Naga of cooking rice or its substitutes. With the rice, however, something is always eaten, meat, fish, vegetables, or, if nothing else at all is to be had, chillies alone. The Sema, like other Nagas, is a great eater of chillies, and can and does fill his mouth with chillies and nothing else and eat them as though they were chocolates. He is, however, generally speaking a great meat-eater, and except in cases of unusual poverty or scarcity eats a quantity of some sort of meat or fish at every meal, not very much, perhaps, but enough to make deprivation of it a serious hardship. Like the Angami, he takes three meals in the day, eating rice from one dish, and meat and vegetables from another, while a dish is usually shared between two or more persons. Boiling is the only method of cooking practised except toasting, which is sometimes resorted to. As with the Angami, no part of an animal's body is wasted. The skin is eaten after the hair has been singed. So are the intestines. Like Sir John Mandeville's "Tartarians," the Semas "eat all the beasts without and within, without casting away of anything save only the filth." Bones, horns, and hoofs are all that are not eaten, while small birds, frogs, and similar soft-boned creatures are eaten bones and all. Meat is regularly smoke-dried over a fire until quite hard, in which condition it keeps indefinitely. When required, pieces are cut off and boiled till soft. Food.

While not exactly discriminating in the matter of what flesh he eats, the Sema is distinctly less omnivorous than the Angami or the Chang. The flesh from which he abstains

is avoided for reasons which, though no doubt overlapping, divide it into two distinct classes, that of the animals the flesh of which is not eaten because of some habit of the animal which inspires disgust for its flesh, and those the flesh of which is not eaten for fear of the consequences entailed by eating it. The former class is barely discernible among the food prohibitions of the other two tribes mentioned. In regard to the latter class of food gennas among the Semas, it is to be noticed that the ill consequences which are held to follow the use of certain animals and birds as food more often attend the offspring of the eaters than the eaters themselves, and these foods can therefore be eaten by old or childless men, who have no prospect of bringing more children into the world.[1] These will also often eat food the consequences of which merely affect their persons in some particular for which they have passed the stage of caring, but they do not eat food that falls in the former class. The lists that follow, though probably far from complete, are fairly typical of the flesh gennas observed by Semas in general. There are also special gennas observed at special times, by special persons, or by individual clans, which are dealt with in their own places. The gennas in the lists given are more or less universally observed by the Sema tribe.

Of domestic animals (*tikishi*, = "house flesh") the cat alone is not eaten. This has been already dealt with.

Of wild animals (*teghashi*, = "spirit flesh" or "jungle flesh") the following are eschewed, (*a*) on account of natural repugnance to the idea of eating them :—

The tiger, leopard, and larger cats. The tiger and leopard are regarded as closely akin to man and to eat them would be almost cannibalism. The larger cats are also usually classed generically as "tigers" (*angshu*) and fall into the same category. The test is roughly whether or not the cat in question is called *angshu* or

[1] So, too, Semas whose wives are pregnant may not kill snakes, which would cause the child to be born with a tongue quivering in and out like a snake. So, too, the Tangkhuls (Census of Assam, 1911, I., p. 76).

not. Thus the little leopard cat, *anyengu* (*Felis bengalensis*), is eaten, while the cat called *angshu-akinu* (? *Felis aurata*) is not.

Rats and mice generally (*azhi*), except the bamboo-rat called *acheghi*, a member of the *Rhizomys* family which lives among the roots of "ekra." To this medicinal properties are attributed and it is universally eaten. The water-rat, *azhukhu*, is not ordinarily eaten, but is sometimes resorted to as a cure for dysentery. A rat called *azhuyeh* (or *azhichu*, "edible rat") is eaten by many, and by all if they have stomach-ache.

Bats (*ashuka*). The reason given for abstention is that they are like mice.

(*b*) Those abstained from because of the fear of the acquisition of their qualities by consumption are :—

The flying squirrels (*attolo*,[1] *asüki*), because they are "idiot," and the eaters would therefore be liable to beget idiot children. They are probably regarded as idiot because they sleep in the day and come out at night, just as the Cheshire cat was mad because she did the opposite of the dog which was admittedly not so.

The huluk ape[2] (*akuhu*) is abstained from by some though not all Semas on the ground that its consumption would render the eater liable to beget children who kept crying "hualu, hualu, hualu," like the ape. It may, like the flying squirrels, always be eaten by old men.

The otter,[3] *achegeh*, is eaten, but it is believed that this causes the hair of the head to become hard and dry and difficult to shave, because it dries as fast as it is wetted.

The musk-rat (*keghu*) is not eaten, but its singed hair is used sometimes as a remedy for a long illness, being mixed with water in which the sick man washes in the forlorn hope

[1] Some Semas regard it as genna even to touch it. They say that it turns into a cat of the species called *angshu-yeghüli* (? *Felis macrocelis*). *Attolo* = *Petaurista yunnanensis* ; *asüki* = *Pteromys aboniger*.

[2] *Hylobates hooluck*.

[3] *Lutra leptonyx* and probably *nair* also.

that the sickness may be frightened from his body by the horrible smell of the musk-rat.

The list of birds not eaten is a larger one.

(*a*) Not eaten for reason of natural repugnance :—

The crow (*agha*) (*Corvus macrorhynchus*) is banned because it eats human corpses. The bird called *kutsükheke* (? = "head-nester"), a very diminutive bird indeed, is not eaten because it is popularly believed to build in the empty eye-sockets of the skulls of enemies taken in war and hung up outside the village. It is regarded as most abusive to ask a man whether he cannot see because a *kutsükheke* has built a nest in his eye, or to express a wish that the bird may do so. It is also believed that if this bird wishes to be successful in producing any offspring it must lay in a nest of human hair. *Kutsükheke* probably = "head-poker." This bird is also called *anhyeti-nyetsükheke* = "eye-piercer." It is the Green-backed Tit—*Parus monticolor*. The mynah (*toĕshi*) (*Sturnopastor contra*)[1] is not eaten because it is reputed to have once been a man, who was turned into a bird by picking to pieces a black cloth with yellow stripes. (This is the bird well known as a mimic.)

(*b*) Not eaten because of the properties so acquired :—

The great hornbill (*aghacho*) (*Dichoceros bicornis*), because it has "sores" on its feet, and if a man eats its flesh he too gets sores. When its feathers are worn, as in dancing, wild vegetables are avoided, as, if eaten, this would give the same result as the flesh of the bird.

The owl (*akhakoh*) (*Glaucidia cuculoides*, *radiata*, and *brodiei*), because it is "idiot," and the eater's offspring are liable to be idiot likewise. The nightjar (*akaku*) (to prefer the darkness to light is obviously sheer lunacy), and the *aïlu*, a pure white bird that drops to earth suddenly from flight, are both avoided for the same reason. The *aïlu* is particularly shunned and by many is not even touched, but both the *akhakoh* and *akaku* may be eaten by old men. The same applies to the "brain-fever bird" (*pipilhu*) (*Hierococcyx sparverioides*), which is not eaten for fear the

[1] And probably other varieties.

eater should beget offspring with a similar incessantly reiterated outcry, while the *aouya*, a small bird of excessively restless habit, and the *akacho*, a night bird which chatters incessantly (perhaps *Cacomantis passerinus*), are avoided by all, as these qualities of restlessness and loquacity affect the eater as well as his children. The green parrot (*achoki*) (*Palaeornis fasciatus* and others) is not eaten, partly because of its screaming habits, and partly on account of an alleged malformation of its hinder parts. The *titsuba* (*Hemicurus guttatus* and also *Microcichla scouleri*, both fork-tails), a wader that defecates as it flies away when disturbed, is avoided as inducing a timid and fearful disposition. The *tsuketi* (*Uroloncha acuticauda*) and *tuthu* (*Uroloncha punctulata*), two little munias that raid the millet fields, are avoided because the sides of their beaks are always dirty (with husks, etc.), and the eaters will likewise have dirty mouths, and also because the birds' crops are not in the centre, but at one side. Old men will eat these. The *awutsa*, a species of hornbill (*Aceros nepalensis*, the rufous-necked hornbill), is not eaten by most Semas because it is believed that the eater will die choking and coughing like the bird, the cry of which is a hoarse, choke-like croak. The *abagha* (lit. = "dung-crow") is not eaten because it is thought to make the hair turn white, as its feathers, though black towards the tips, making the bird black to look at, are white underneath. The crow-pheasant (*toghoko*) (*Centropus bengalensis*) is not eaten because of a story that when the birds were made the crow-pheasant was forgotten, and nothing was left to make it of but little scraps of meat that were left embedded in cuts on the board on which the meat that went to make the others had been chopped up. Old men will eat the flesh of this bird nowadays, at any rate in administered villages where there is no fear of hostilities, for the flesh is reputed tender and tasty, but men who do so are liable to get cut up by their enemies, and young men will not eat it. These last seven birds are, it may be noticed, banned in the belief that their consumption entails effects directly to the eater rather than to his children. It is genna to eat the house-martin (*akallu*) or the swallow (*yemichekallu*)

or (as a general rule) the swift (*niniti*).[1] The first two are believed to cause dysentery if eaten, but of the swift it is sometimes said that a man who kills a hawk should eat one, as the swift fights with the hawk, and when the ghost of the hawk after the killer's death comes to peck out the eyes of his soul, the swift's ghost will be there to fight with it.

Of fish two only seem to be avoided. One is the *akhaki*, a fish like a large "miller's thumb," which is in most villages eschewed by the younger men because of a story which ascribes its origin to a part of the anatomy of a man which he accidentally knocked off with a stone after a successful love affair. The other is the *azho*, a species of eel-like fish with a serrated back, which is believed to cause, if eaten, great difficulty in dying, for when cut up the sections of this fish display muscular movement for some time. It is said that women going to be married to a distant village used sometimes to be given, unknown to themselves, a bit of the flesh of this fish, that when *in extremis* they might not die until their parents should get the news and come and see them.

Of reptiles, snakes, lizards, and toads are not eaten, nor is the *nichoiti*, which is described as a small frog with a very large stomach, so that this limits edible reptiles in the Sema country to the tortoises and various remaining species of frog. Insects, likewise, are not generally reckoned edible, but all kinds of grasshoppers and locusts and some crickets are eaten, and the grubs with the comb and the honey of all sorts of bees and wasps (except a species of bumble-bee, which is probably regarded as "idiot"), as well as an odoriferous beetle-like insect called *mcheka* found by rivers and streams, and some large larvæ and their pupæ. One variety of spider is also eaten, a large grey and yellow insect which spins a thick and sticky web. It is, however, credited, probably on account of the stickiness of its web, long strands of which are apt to catch the face when going through jungle, with causing dimness of eyesight in the eater.

[1] This might be because of its inability to rise from the ground when once it has alighted, but the bird is really the Grey Drongo, *Dicrurus cineraceus*, and not a swift proper.

In addition to the foods prohibited to men there are further special prohibitions which limit the food that may be eaten by women. The main feature of these prohibitions is the fear that the housewife may become extravagant with the paddy. This belief is a very strong one, and apparently the majority of wild animals and birds are regarded as liable to produce this unthrift in women, and are therefore prohibited, though some of the prohibitions are no doubt due to the fear of other consequences. In general it is easier to enumerate the foods that women may eat than those which they may not.

With regard to reptiles, fish, and insects, women seem to observe the same prohibitions as men. With regard to birds, the women are under the additional prohibition of abstaining from the flesh of kites and hawks. Sometimes the reason given is that it causes unthrift, sometimes that it makes the woman who eats it too free with her nails, making her unpleasantly addicted to biting and scratching. The flesh of kites and hawks is also said to have been formerly, and to be still sometimes, avoided by men, though others hold that it is highly desirable as strengthening the eyes and giving clear sight.

In the case of wild animals women seem to be generally restricted to the meat of the serow,[1] deer, pig, porcupine, bear, and the bamboo-rat, while of domestic animals besides the cat, women may not eat of the goat, for fear of becoming libidinous, nor of chickens that lay here and there in different places, lest they should become unfaithful and light-o'-love. They may not eat either of any animal that dies in giving birth (no doubt for fear that they should do likewise), or of the flesh of any animal killed by a wild beast.

Besides prohibited flesh, food ordinarily good may become prohibited for some special reason. Thus if the spoon breaks with which the cooked rice is being taken from the pot, males may not eat of that rice (except the very old and practically bed-ridden). If this prohibition were not observed and the eater were at any time to run, he would get a stitch of violent and appalling severity, as

[1] *Capricornis* (or *Nemorhoedus*) *sumatrensis rubidus*.

though a piece of broken bamboo spoon were piercing his vitals, while if he were so naughty as to lick a chilli pestle he would be haunted on the march by a noise just behind him, as of a pestle thumping on the mortar. Again he may not eat of a chicken that impales itself on a spear when flying down from its roost in the house, for this would render him liable to slip and fall on his own spear, but his women-folk, who carry no spears, can eat it with impunity. Women, however, may not eat of the rice in a pot that breaks while in use, for this would, as usual, make them extravagant with their paddy.

Members of the vegetable world do not seem to have the sinister effects upon human beings that some birds and animals have, and though certain vegetables are forbidden to certain clans and individuals at certain times (some instances have already been given), there is no general *index expurgatorius* of vegetables and plants. Of these, those already enumerated as cultivated are eaten, as well as multitudinous wild ones, fungoids, ferns, berries, and all sorts of jungle plants. Perhaps the nearest approach to a general genna on an otherwise commonly edible plant is the prohibition that rests on any person who has killed a tiger or a leopard from eating the plants called *chiiye*, *ashebaghiye*, *tsughukutsiye*, or *aghiye*,[1] though the only reason assigned for this is their connection with the tiger the cub of which was killed with thorns by one Khwonhyetsü, as told in the story of "Woodpecker's Corner" (in Part VI of this volume).

The Semas have no traditions of ever having been cannibals themselves, but, like the other Naga tribes, have stories of a village of cannibals, called by them Murromi, and located somewhere further east than they themselves are able to go to trade—somewhere, that is, to the east of the Tukomi Sangtam or Yachumi tribes, a location also ascribed to the village of Amazons.[2] The inhabitants of this cannibal village, Murromi, are also believed to be without

[1] *Hydrococtyle javanica.*

[2] Actual villages inhabited by women only have been recorded in Burma and reported from the Himalayas (see *The Angami Nagas*). Sangtamla, the extinct village on the former site of which the S.D.O.'s bungalow

exception lycanthropists, and lycanthropy is a vice far from unknown to Semas, if we may trust their own accounts of themselves ; but of lycanthropy more hereafter.

The cooking pots and dishes used by the Sema for his food are washed with cold water before use, not after, as a rule. Food and drink are ordinarily supplied to a guest first, at any rate if he is a man of position, and in eating from a common dish the head of the household, or the man of highest position, or the oldest, starts to eat first, and it is breach of etiquette to start to eat at a common meal before another of higher position, or before the senior member of the family, or the head of the household.

Drink.

As among other Nagas, the staple drink, almost the only drink, of Semas is rice-beer in one form or another, for tea is rarely used, while no one dreams of drinking water except in the last resort. Tea, when used, is made by boiling the leaves in the water. The shrub itself is not cultivated by Nagas, though varieties are found here and there.

Rice-beer is, generally speaking, one of three kinds, the genuine fermented liquor, or "rohi," called by Semas *akuputsü*, the infused beer, or "saka modhu," called *akezá*, and the very mildly fermented "pitha modhu," called *azhichoh*, the latter being brewed in two different ways. The most important of these is *akuputsü*, and it is brewed on this wise. The cereal to be used is first dried, then husked by pounding. Water is boiled and the cereal, or mixture of cereals, put in and left until cooked. The water that is not absorbed into the cooked cereal is then poured off, and the latter left to cool. When somewhat cooled down, it is put out on a mat for half an hour or so further to cool it. Then in hot weather when quite cold, in cold weather when nearly so, the yeast is added, having been pounded fine, being sprinkled over and mixed in with the wet mass. The whole is then wrapped in plantain leaves and left for three days in a basket, and afterwards put into an earthenware jar or wooden vat which is tilted on one side, and the

at Mokokchung is built, is said to have been a woman's village, and there is still a woman elder (*tātar*) at the neighbouring Ao village of Khabza, though the fact is secreted. It is probably not so long since the Semas themselves had a matrilineal system.

fermented liquor allowed to drain off. This is *akuputsü*. The solid part from which the liquor has been drained is used for making infused beer, boiling water being poured on to it, the whole mixed round and strained through a pointed basket, the result being *akezá*. The solid remnant of this second brew is sometimes eaten, but perhaps more often fed to the pigs.

For these two drinks rice, Italian millet, Job's tears, the Great Millet (sorghum), or maize may be used, though the last is rarely used alone. More often a mixture is made of any two or more of the five, millet and Job's tears being the principal ingredients.

Yeast is made by pounding rice into a fine flour, pounding the leaf called *akakhu-ni* till fine, then mixing the two together with water and pounding until a stiff dough results. This is flattened out and left to dry like a cake for a week or so, when it can be used. The plant called *akakhu*[1] is a wild variety of egg-plant (brinjal) and bears small berries, which turn red, and is of two varieties, one with thorny leaves and stem, the other thornless. Yeast may not properly be manufactured in a new village until human flesh (from a slain enemy) has been brought into it.

Azhichoh is usually brewed as follows. The rice or other cereal, after it has been well dried and husked, is pounded into a fairly fine flour. It is then moistened and again pounded into a paste. This is put into a mixing basket of boiling water, and when well mixed poured off into an earthenware jar or wooden vat, where it is well diluted with cold water. The yeast called *aghukhu* is then added and the whole left to stand for some days according to the temperature, fermentation being naturally much quicker in hot weather. The yeast in this case is made by pounding the seeds of the plant called *aghü*[2] until they are husked, moistening and again pounding them until the whole works into a very stiff dough, which is put cold into the vat containing the liquor. *Azhichoh* would seem to mean "real liquor," in which case we may perhaps assume that this

[1] *Solanum Indicum*, L. [2] *Chenopodium murale*.

form of brewing preceded the brewing of *akuputsü* and *akezá*.[1]

Before drinking, a Sema always pours a few drops on the ground or touches a drop to his forehead for the benefit of *aghau* or *teghami*, and usually he blows upon the surface of his drink, to blow away the spirits, a custom also recorded of the Russians in the sixteenth century by one of Hakluyt's Voyagers.[2]

Narcotics.

The only narcotic or drug ordinarily taken by Semas is tobacco. This they grow themselves and prepare as follows. When brought in from the fields it is spread out to "wither" as in preparing tea; when the leaf has wilted and can be crushed without breaking, it is "rolled" just like the leaf of tea, except that the feet are employed instead of the hands (the operator usually cleans his feet first). The crushed leaf is then spread out to dry, and, if it is intended for sale, nothing further is done to it as a rule, except to pack it up in a basket. If, however, the grower intends it for his own consumption, he moistens it and again "rolls" it with his feet, reducing it to a much more compressed condition. Then it is spread out to dry again, and when dry is packed in a basket and is ready for use. The drying is done in the sun if possible, but if this is not practicable, it is done on the shelf over the hearth, though tobacco dried in this way smokes very "hot." Some Semas mix the leaf of the plant called *Yachu-khupi-bo* (Yachumi-tobacco) with their tobacco, partly for its aroma, partly to make the tobacco go further, and when they are very short of tobacco they sometimes use the leaves of the plants called *pilshi* or *apilipi*[3] (*Maoutia puya*) and *tsughu-kutsiye* (the plantain

[1] *Azhi* = "liquor," *kuchoh* = "true," "genuine," >*azhi-choh* perhaps. Compare the Angami expression *Tengi-zu* for the same beverage, meaning "Angami liquor" *par excellence* as opposed to the other sorts of liquor, which, however, are likewise brewed by the Angamis.

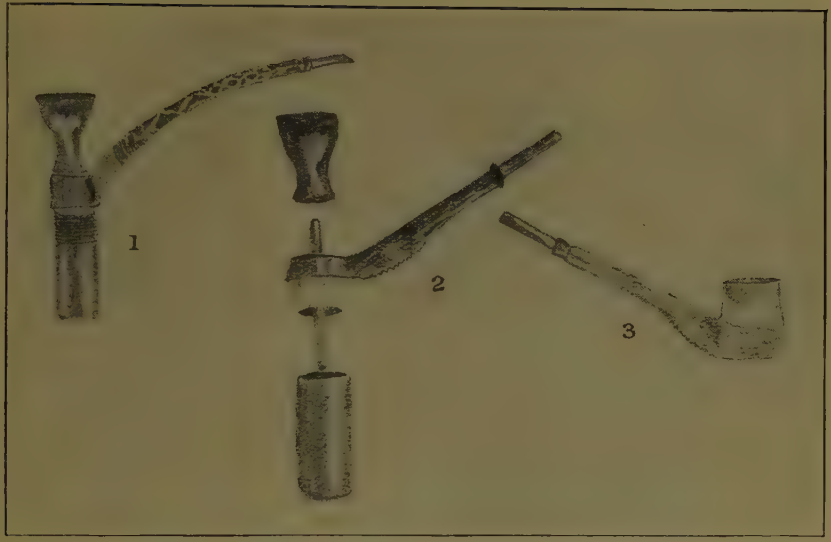
[2] Master Anthonie Jenkinson, in his "first voyage . . . toward the land of Russia . . . in the yeere 1557." The context, too, is by no means inapplicable to the Semas—"They . . . delight in eating of grosse meates, and stinking fishe. Before they drinke they use to blowe in the cup: their greatest friendship is in drinking: they are great talkers and lyers. . . . The women be there very obedient to their husbands. . . ."

[3] It is believed that elephants feeding on *apilipi* produce fine tusks.

weed—*Plantago major*) instead of tobacco leaf, usually mixing them with what tobacco they can procure. The latter plant is also used by Semas as a vegetable, while it is used by the opium-eating Konyak tribes to mix with opium. A leaf called *sāt* (*Zehneria umbellata*) is also used for tobacco and as a vegetable.

The pipes (*akhthu*) in which the Semas smoke their tobacco are of two kinds, the plain pipe with a straight stem made of one or two pieces of bamboo and called *tolupa*, and the *tsunküba*, in which there is a water-chamber below the bowl, through which the smoke is drawn. In the case of *tolupa* made of two pieces there is a string fastened taut from the middle of the stem to the bottom of the bowl to strengthen the combination. In the *tsunküba* the bowl is usually made of pipe-stone shaped by hand and the water-chamber is made from a narrow bamboo; between these two is a section of bamboo joint, the mouthpiece being made from one of the young shoots from the joint, and a bamboo tube passing through the middle to connect the bowl with the water-chamber. The water in the chamber is reckoned fit to use after 25 or 30 pipes have been smoked, and the foul liquid then taken is put into a bamboo tube, in the cap of which is a small hole to let the noisome brew out drop by drop into the mouth of the user. This liquid, however, is not usually consumed. It is merely retained in the mouth and spat out again. It is said that no one can use pipe juice in this way until he has smoked a pipe for at least a year. Ash is sometimes put into the water in the pipe chamber, as this is believed to make the water become more quickly ready for use.

Medicines. The Sema treatment of illness, magical and religious proceedings apart, involves the use of many curious factors, and while the use of some of these treatments, *e.g.*, that for wounds caused by "ekra," are based on an obviously erroneous process of reasoning, the use of others is probably beneficial (the berry given as an emetic in cases of poisoning will serve as an instance), while some treatments, like that for snake-bite, are undoubtedly sound in many respects. In any case the herbs used generally by the Semas are



SEMA PIPES. (Scale $\frac{1}{3}$th nat. size.)

1. *Tsunküba.* 2. *Tsunküba* (taken down). 3. *Tolupa.*

ASÜ-PUSÜKE.

[*To face p.* 100.

probably quite as beneficial as the melodiously named herbs sung by the poet, that "eased the pain of our fathers of old," and even if it is true that, like theirs, half of the Sema remedies "cure you dead," the other half at least are plants which are regularly used as vegetables and only specially given in cases of certain illness. The Semas, however, do not connect their herbs with the planets or stars.

Without professing to give the whole theory and science of Sema medicine, the following list of treatments may be taken as representative :—

For wounds a man's own hair is taken, together with scrapings of the bark of the wild fig tree called *chuchobo*[1] (this bark is used for making string and cord), and put in the wound, which is bound up with bark or creeper bindings. Another treatment is to take the refuse of rice from which liquor has been brewed, and steep it in hot water. The water is squeezed out and the pulp applied still hot to the wound.

For wounds inflicted by a bear the prickly pear (*kükhopi*) is regarded as a medicine.

For any small wound tobacco is chewed and applied. Chickens' gall is also used.

For a dog-bite the world-wide remedy is used. One of the dog's whiskers, some Semas insist on a black one, is burnt and applied to the bite.

A snake-bite is treated by binding the bitten limb both above and below the bite and then sucking out the blood from the punctures, which are, if necessary, slightly cut to enlarge them.[2] The leaves of the plants *yepuwi* or *yeshuye* (*Polygonum alatum*) and *ayeshu* (another *Polygonum*) (the latter is the most short-lived of plants, used for taking oaths, and having a very pungent juice) are heated and applied to the bite. Death from snake-bite is practically unknown, but though there are many poisonous snakes in the Sema country, there are probably very few the bite of which could ordinarily be regarded as deadly.

[1] Perhaps *Ficus prostrata*.

[2] Another method is to hold the part over a smoke fire till blistered by the heat. The poison exudes with the humour from the blistered hand.

A broken skull is treated by beating up the whites and yolks of raw eggs and placing them in the abrasion and covering the whole with the skin of a freshly-killed chicken, the inner side of the skin being applied to the split skull. This appears to be an efficacious method, and is said to be sometimes successful even when the brain can be seen through the break in the bone. One Tukhepu of Sheyepu village, who got his skull split open with a stone in a riot with Sakhalu, was treated in this way and recovered.

To a wound caused by "ekra," the stumps of which are often like panjis, the plant called "Old Woman's Cry" (*thopfu-gha-bo*)[1] is applied. The reason for this is that, as "Old Woman's Cry" and "ekra" never grow together, they must be inimical, and the one will heal the hurt of the other.

When a bit of poisoned stick has gone into the flesh and cannot be extracted, crabs (*achuwo*) are eaten to accelerate suppuration, when the foreign matter comes out. For thorns that cannot be extracted a poultice is applied at night composed of chickens' dung, goats' dung, the leaf of a ground plant called *asükumsü-bo*, and yeast. A hidden

[1] This plant (*Sida rhumbifolia*, L.) is used for dressing bow-strings, being rubbed up and down them till they are slimy as though waxed. The plant is small, but is very tough and hard, and the object is perhaps to impart its toughness to the string. It gets its name from having figured in a story as the means of saving the life of an old woman who cried out for help. An old woman was eating something or other and a second came up and said, "What are you eating?" The first old woman replied, "*Mishi-kive*" (cow's intestine), and on being asked how she obtained it said, "I wait till a cow lifts its tail to defecate and then I thrust my arm in at its fundament and take it. In this way I get as much as I want every day." The second old woman credulously went and did likewise, but could not withdraw her hand, and the cow galloped off, dragging her by the arm. Just as she was about to be dragged over a precipice she cried out and grabbed with her free arm a bit of *thopfughabo*, which grows in rocky ground. The plant, being very tough, held, and she was thus enabled to pull out her other arm and save her life. The Changs have the same story, adding that it was part of the intestines of a deer killed by a tiger that the first old woman was really eating, and the second, to protect her arm, borrowed all her relations' brass bracelets, which she left perforce in the interior of the cow. They call the plant "Cousin Hard One" (*Anyang-sangkang*), as the old woman called out "Cousin!" (*anyang*) as she grabbed hold of it. The Lhotas also have the story.

abscess, particularly in the foot, where they are very common, is treated by Semas, as by Lhotas, by making a small bee sting the surface of the skin, so that the resulting inflammation draws the matter to the outside.

To burns, cold iron or steel is applied in the first instance, later fresh cow dung.

For a swollen gland in the groin, fire is applied to the big toe-nail of the foot on the same side as the swelling until pain is caused by the burn. This relieves that caused by the swollen gland. This remedy may not, however, be resorted to during harvest, as the burning of a finger-nail or toe-nail is believed to cause the reaping of a scanty crop.

For spleen a lime called *khunnthi* is cooked with chillies and Naga salt, pounded to a pulp, and mixed with boiling water, and eaten like soup.

For bad eyes there are several nostrums. Salt of Naga manufacture mixed with water and applied in very small quantities is one. Human milk is another. A third is to hold under the eye a steaming decoction of onion leaves, or a leaf of urine which is still warm, so that the eye gets the benefit of its vapour. The latter remedy, be it noted, is still utilized in parts of Ireland. A fourth is to feed the patient on the heart of a plantain stump that contains in large numbers brittle worms or larvæ of a sort that feeds on plantain, the plantain and the worms being cooked together and given to the patient without his knowing what he is eating, that he may not from disgust refuse to take it.

A rash of any sort is washed with the slime from fish, and fresh plantain leaves are applied, while for scabies soot is employed.

By way of an emetic, resorted to in cases where poison is believed to have been taken, the berry of a creeper (called *ashepukhwo-ti* = "deer's crab-apple") is given. The sour lees of rice from which liquor has been brewed are also used for this purpose, so is pigs' fat and almost any sort of dirt calculated to nauseate the eater.

Headache (*akutsü-sü*) is treated by administering cooked the plant *pulakhu* internally, and binding up the head with creepers. *Pulakhu* (*Mosla dianthera*), which somewhat

resembles mint, is also eaten in weakness arising from any cause. For diarrhœa (*tsizükuba*) the shrub called "stomach-ache leaf," *tusüye*, is taken; for dysentery (*azhikuba*), the insect parasite of a plant called *akhame-kulho;* for a cough or cold in the head (*mukhugha*), the very bitter red flower of the creeper called *aghünakha-ye;*[1] for stomach-ache (*apvokusü*), an evil-smelling plant called "Yachumi-leaf" (*Yachu-ye*), or else the roots of thatching grass (*aghi*); for "heartache" (*amlokusü*—usually = colic) [2] the flesh of the black squirrel (*attiki*) [3] is eaten, while for delirium, or for any temporary mental derangement including lycanthropic fits, ginger (*aku'u*) and salt are given.

For goitre a caterpillar or maggot called *akuleko-nupfu-lapu* ("goitre-application-worm") is applied externally and acts as a blister.

For fever an insect of the grasshopper variety called *aghakimiki-thuka* (= "fever insect") is toasted and eaten, and *tsüngosho*, the pupa of some water insect, is eaten for dysentery. As a tonic generally dogs' flesh is held in great esteem. Some other medicines have already been mentioned when dealing with flesh used for food.

The only sort of disinfectant used by the Semas is fumigation, which is resorted to in case of bad epidemics.[4] A collection of dung is made (any and all animal dung is used) and burnt inside the house, though not on the regular hearth. The smoke of such a fire is regarded as keeping away the spirit of the sickness.

In common with other Nagas, the notion of isolation in cases of epidemic diseases is familiar to the Semas. A village in which an epidemic is raging is "put out of bounds," and a man visiting it is severely dealt with by his fellow villagers. Similarly in cases of cattle disease the flesh of

[1] A *Crawfurdia*, probably *Campanulacea*. The plant called "deer's *aghünakha* leaf," *ashe-ghünakha-ye*, is used, but is less efficacious. The latter is *Canscora andrographioides*, both belonging to the Gentian family.

[2] I have known a gastric ulcer also spoken of as *amlokusü*.

[3] *Ratufa gigantea*.

[4] Scented herbs like wormwood are, however, credited with the power of keeping off the spirits of disease and used practically as disinfectants sprays or leaves being carried on the person.

animals that have died of the disease in one village may not be brought to another, even if the owners live there, in which there is no disease. It should be mentioned, perhaps, that the flesh of cattle that die of disease is ordinarily eaten by the owners. Venereal diseases are comparatively rare in the Sema country, and in the main restricted to the villages bordering upon the Ao and Lhota tribes, and in some villages, Seromi for instance, any person known to be suffering from such an illness is isolated and neither spoken to nor touched by anyone, and has to fetch and use separate water and feed from separate dishes.

Games.

Making mud pies is probably the oldest game in the world. In any case it seems to be the first game that Sema children learn to play. Earth is mixed with urine in some broken pot or gourd, and imitation spoons are fashioned, and a pretence of eating made, touching the spoonfuls to the chin, and portentous are the squabbles that arise over each player's share of the "food," which from becoming a bone of contention often ends by serving as a weapon of offence. One curious custom is usually observed in playing at mud pies, and that is that each player must personally contribute his quota of the necessary liquid before he is allowed to join in the game. Another game, which perhaps dates back to the troglodite age, is that known as "Yemoli's House" (*Yemoli-ki*), in which tunnels are dug from opposite sides in any convenient bank of earth so as to meet in the middle, from which branch tunnels are taken to make two more openings.

Among toys, tops of various sorts are favourites. The most rudimentary perhaps is that called *azung*, which consists of a pointed stick which revolves in a hole in a gourd, being spun by rubbing the stick smartly between the palms of the two hands moving in opposite directions. The top called *zilazungti* is spun in the same way, but consists of a stout stem of thatching grass, the lower end of which is weighted with a kernel of the nut of a certain creeper, in which a hole has been bored. The result is a top which spins on the principle of the primitive spindle, but has a shorter stem. The peg-top, *aketsü*, is spun by a string wound

round it and having a loop at one end, through which a finger is passed, when the top is thrown, and spins on the ground, where it is made to " fight " with other tops. This top is made of a block of hard wood in the shape of two cones base to base, round the upper of which the string is wound, and its use is not confined to children, but it is popular with lads and young men as well.

There is a peculiarity attaching to the *aketsü* which distinguishes it from the spinning of other tops, and (with one or two exceptions) from the playing of other games. This peculiarity is the same as that which attaches to the use of the flute (*fululu*), and consists in a prohibition of its use entirely except between the final reaping of the harvest and the first sowing of the ensuing year. The reason given for this prohibition in the case of the *fululu* is that playing on it is liable to cause winds which will damage the crops, and it is possible that this is the notion which causes peg-top spinning to be prohibited,[1] but if so it is not clear why other tops should be allowed, though the reason for this may perhaps be found in their inferior spinning qualities. It is to be noticed that the Kayans of Borneo, a part of the world which offers several instances of curiously close parallels to Naga customs, also prohibit the spinning of tops except during the sowing festival (" The Golden Bough," 3rd edition, vol. vii, pp. 95, 97, and 187), while they have a masquerade on very similar lines to that held by the Chang tribe of Nagas at the festival which ushers in the cold weather, and at which also tops are spun. Another Sema game which is prohibited except between the harvest and the sowing is that called *alau*, which is played with the great reddish seeds of the sword-bean. Three of these seeds are set up on the ground in turn and other seeds thrown at them from a distance of some paces. The first seed set up is called *Thumoli* (" the Witch-Girl "),[2] and whoever knocks it over says " Thumoli is dead." The next is called *Hohe* (" the

[1] Perhaps the spin of a peg-top is so like the moving swirls and eddies of wind that accompany cyclonic disturbances that there is a danger of its causing them.

[2] Or perhaps " the generation of witches." The meaning of the particle *li* is discussed in Part III, under " Exogamy."

Orator "), and when this is knocked over "Hohe is dead." The third is *Aina* ("the Community"), and when this whole community "is dead" the game is over. To the real meaning and the origin of the game and to the reason for its prohibition while the crops are in the ground the writer has so far failed to find any clue. It may, moreover, be noticed that Dalton ("Ethnology of Bengal"), quoting McCulloch, mentions an "indoor" game of the Manipuris called *Kangsanaba*, in which "young women and girls with a sprinkling of men on both sides" throw "with an ivory disc at the seed of a creeper called *Kong* stuck up in the floor of the house." He does not, however, say anything about the restriction of this game to any particular season of the year, and the result of the writer's inquiries points to its being played only during the rains when the rice is growing, but they were very cursory.

Common toys made by Sema children are "Dead men's Pestles" (*Kitimi'boshu*) and "Dead men's Liquor-strainers" (*Kitimi 'tsuko*), the first of which are made out of folded grasses, two blades being folded up together so that when the folded grass is pulled out again lengthwise it assumes the form of a crinkled chainlike but flimsy rod. The second is made by taking two strips of plantain leaf, doubling them and placing them together, and splitting the doubled ends alternately in such a manner as to make a funnel-shaped vessel of interlaced strands which are not detached from the leaf at either end. Both these are in the nature of puzzles, and the second, though simple enough when demonstrated, is ingeniously contrived and at first quite baffling. The latter is made also by Changs, who give it a name with the same meaning.

Toy bows, *shekhe-lika*, and arrows are naturally beloved of Sema boys, but the bows are made on the pattern of the simple bow, and not on that of the cross-bow, which has entirely superseded the simple form for warfare. Sad to relate, however, Sema parents nowadays rigorously repress the attempts of their children to play with bows and arrows, as they are dangerous toys, and although the traditional compensation payable by a parent to someone hit by his

son's arrow in the eye or other tender place was a chicken or a pig, there is a fear that they may be made to pay somewhat heavier compensation in the case of serious damage. In any case the play of Sema children has been much curtailed in the administered villages, for in the old days children were never taken to the fields for fear of a raid, so that they spent all day in mischief and monkey-tricks ; nowadays they have to go with their parents from a very tender age and give what help they can. They do, however, still find time now and then to indulge in the mimic warfare (*kuluke*) which used to occupy most of their days. Armed with imitation shields (*apipi-ztho*) quite ornately got up, imitation daos of bamboo (*asü-ztha*), throwing-spears of " ekra " or of wormwood (*ang-cholipa*), and lumps of cow-dung as missiles collected in large quantities beforehand, two parties will fight with and sometimes damage one another, while in the old days, when this was the principal occupation of the younger boys and clan feeling ran higher than it now does, opposing parties used to inflict very considerable damage on each other, and in the unadministered villages they probably still do so.

Another popular amusement is to take dry chillies (stolen, as likely as not) and pound them up fine. These are taken to a house, where other young people, boys or girls, are known to be sleeping, in the smallest hours of the early morning. A smouldering fire is started outside the wall with millet-husks and the pounded chillies are put on the fire. The pungent smoke is then easily driven through the wattle with fans and the interior of that part of the house made temporarily uninhabitable. The inmates pretend not to notice anything if they can, but usually end by emerging red-eyed and wrathful just in time to hear someone escaping round the corner.

On the border between the games and athletics is the amusement known as " Hog's-rub," *awoli-sheshe*.[1] One boy goes down on all fours, and two others, of more or less equal weight, lie on their backs, one on each side of him, and, putting their legs over his back, catch hold of each other's feet with

[1] Also known sometimes as *awoli-shomhi*, " Hog's tail."

A WOLI-SHISHE.

BOY WITH *APIPI-ZHTO* AND "EKRA" SPEAR WITH WOODEN BLADE.

[*To face p.* 108.

their hands. The first boy raises himself and moves about with bent back, and the other two hanging on across it like paniers on a donkey. *Kitike*, another amusement, which perhaps may definitely be reckoned as athletics, is that of what may perhaps be called kick-fighting. Two lads hopping on the left legs strike with the right. It sounds clumsy enough, but the dexterity, agility, and elasticity displayed is extraordinary; lightning kicks are given, received, and eluded at a great speed without loss of balance, and it is very rarely indeed that either of the opponents falls over. Catching with the hands is regarded as a foul, but in the heat of contest is sometimes resorted to. It seems quite easy for a Sema to kick, and very hard at that, at right angles to his body. The rounds are short, probably lasting as a rule not more than about three or four minutes, being usually stopped by the onlookers, who are very quick to interfere if either of the kickers appears to be getting too roughly handled or to be losing his temper. "Stick-kicking" (*asü-pusüke*) is a form of exercise which consists in putting a piece of wood on the point of a spear 5 feet or more from the ground and jumping up and endeavouring to kick it with both feet at once, an acrobatic feat requiring considerable agility.[1] The long jump (*akukike*) and the high jump (*asü-ilheche*, = "stick jump") are practised by the Semas just as by ourselves, though in the case of the former a step back is not reckoned as detracting from the jump, the jump being measured to the place where the feet first landed. Both these sports are almost certainly indigenous and not learnt from Europeans. This at least is the Sema belief, and the high jump at any rate is practised by Transfrontier tribes that have never come into contact with European customs. Putting the weight (*athu-peveke*, "stone-throw") is also a Sema tribal sport, and is practised in a way very similar to our own, except that large round stones are used instead of shots. The standard attained in these contests is poor compared with that of British public schools, but then there is no such thing as "training" at sports, nor any organisation calculated to produce a high

[1] See illustration *supra* p. 100.

standard; 18 feet is a good long jump for a Naga, and a high jump of 5 feet is probably but rarely attained. The best Sema put the writer has seen was one by Sakhalu, Chief of Sakhalu-nagami, of 32 feet with a 15-lb. shot, but the ordinary weight is a stone about the size of a man's head, and a put with such is difficult to compare with a put with shot.

Competitors in Sema sports often put down cowries or brass ring beads as a stake, the winner taking the whole.

Of sedentary games it may almost be said that the Sema has none, but a game has been recently picked up in Kohima by some of them and will probably become popular in time. It is similar to the " Fighting-eating " game of the Angamis, but as this particular variety has not yet been described as a Naga game, it may be worth recording it here. The board is made by drawing a square and joining up the opposite corners diagonally. The sides are then bisected and the middle points joined to the middle points first of the opposite, then of the adjacent sides. In this way the square has been cut up into four smaller squares, each divided by intersecting diagonals. Through these points of intersection four more lines are drawn, two vertical and two horizontal, again bisecting the sides of the four inner squares. This gives altogether 25 points of intersection, and the game is played with 24 pieces, which are placed on these points and move along the lines joining them to the adjacent points. One player has four pieces (bits of stone, beans, anything will do), known as " tigers," and these are placed one at each corner of the board. His opponent has 20 similar pieces called " goats," and his object is to place them on the board, and to move them when there, in such a manner that the " tigers " are rounded up and prevented from moving at all. The " goats " may only move in a direct line to the next point of intersection, and the " tigers " are similarly restricted unless there is a goat at an adjacent point and an empty point beyond it in the same straight line, when the " tiger " may " eat " the goat by jumping over it as in draughts. The player of the " tigers " must move one of his pieces for every " goat " placed on the board by his

KITIKE.

SEMA DANCES.

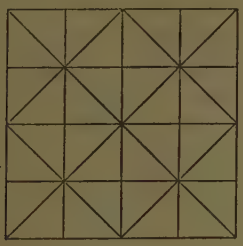
a. MOCK BATTLE DANCE.
b. *YACHUMI KEGHILE.*

[*To face p.* 110.

Arizona State Museum

opponent, and when all the "goats" are out the parties must make alternate moves.

In addition to the game of the tiger and the goats, a second game known as the war game is played on the same board, each side using eleven pieces which are represented by bits of black or whitish stone or anything of that sort. Each player places ten men on the two back lines of his side of the board, and the two eleventh men occupy the outside places on the middle line. The moves are along the intersecting lines not further than one point at a time, unless an opportunity occurs to jump over one of the opposing pieces into a vacant place behind it, thus "eating" the opponents' piece, which is removed from the board, as in draughts. The side which eats up the greater number of its "enemies" wins.



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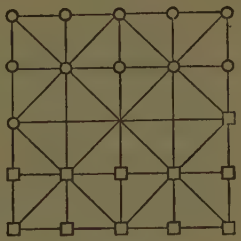


II.

The above diagrams show the board used in both games, the tigers being first placed on the four outer corners of the board shown in the first diagram, when the player of the goats starts introducing his pieces along the outer edges in such a manner as to avoid, as far as he can, giving an opening to the tigers to eat any of the goats. The game is a simple one, but affords considerable scope for the exercise of skill and foresight in playing it.

In the war game the pieces are set out as shown in the second diagram.

Dancing.

Dancing is an amusement which accompanies every genna involving a feast. There are a very large number of dances with different steps, but a dance is always conducted on a fixed principle. It takes place in the open space in front

of the house of the giver of the feast. In the centre of this space a fire is built and the dancers dance round the fire. The dance begins always with a procession called *aghogho*, in which the dancers advance across the open space by successive threes, carrying their spears and in all the ceremonial dress that they can muster (for such an occasion articles are freely borrowed even from distant villages), and hopping slowly on each foot alternately. In the next figure a grand chain is formed, the spears being set aside except for a few which are stuck in the middle near the fire for the use of solitary dancers. The leader of the chain carries a dao at the slope in his left hand. The man behind him has his left hand in front clasping the leader's right, and his right hand behind holding the left hand of the man behind him, and so on to the end of the line, which first of all moves slowly round the fire in a circle singing the *akhile*, the "partridge-song" (*akhi* = the Aracan hill-partridge, *Boricola intermedia*), and then proceeds to dance in earnest. To describe all, or even any, of the Sema dances in detail would be a task for a dancing-master, for dances are legion, and the differences in step between some of them are far from obvious to an amateur. Probably the most generally known and popular dances are the *Yachumi keghile* and the *Yetsimi-keghile*, the first of which is a Yachumi dance and the second a Sangtam dance, Yetsimi being the parent village of the Tukomi (and ultimately indeed of almost all) Sangtams. In these two dances the right foot is thrice struck rapidly on the ground and a spring is made with the left foot; then the three beats with the right foot are repeated and another spring is made. In the former dance the spring is accompanied by a swinging turn of the body first to the left and then forward again to the former position, so that the whole line of dancers keeps alternately advancing in single file and swinging round so as to turn towards the inside of the circle. In the *Yetsimi-keghile* the body is not turned, or only very slightly, and the spring from the left foot is followed by a pace with the right and then with the left again, the pause of the left foot being accompanied by the same three beats with the right. These paces are taken

alternately forwards and backwards, but in the latter case the paces are short. In either case the speed gets generally faster as the dance proceeds up to the limit of speed at which the steps can be executed. Of the multitudinous other dances it is perhaps worth while mentioning the *Akahaziē*, which represents the elephant testing the boggy ground at the edge of a salt-lick before he enters it. The existence of such a dance is noticeable, since there are no elephants at all in the country at present inhabited by the Semas, and the vast majority of Semas have never even seen the tracks of an elephant and know nothing whatever of its habits.[1] There are also dances peculiar to different villages. Sichemi do not join hands, but dance back to back in twos, all carrying daos. Probably this dance shows Ao influence. Alapfumi are said to " sing like chickens " as they " leap from side to side." The Asimi clan are said to jump about haphazardly and push one another about without dignity, while only two men are allowed to sing.

In all the dances in which a chain is formed, all motions are directed by the leader of the chain, who gives loud and emphatic " Yoicks " to mark the changes. As the dancers get worked up, those who are, or consider themselves to be, star performers come out in the middle of the circles near the fire, take a spear and execute fearful and wonderful leaps, of which an essential feature is to kick one or both heels against the rump with a good resounding smack, the whole being accompanied by yells and screeches and spear spinning. The end of the dance is marked by everybody breaking into a sort of very quick stamping or double shuffle called *chita*, like a clog dance without the clogs, which the leader as usual initiates. The dancers then break off and leave dancing for drinking.

The dancing is accompanied by singing, but these songs have no words and consist of " ho-ho-ing " to different

[1] There is a tradition in Satami of eighteen elephants of monstrous size killed by the first founder of that village, in support of which a tooth, possibly of *Elephas namadicus*, found in a stream-bed near the village was brought to me. I sent it to the Indian Museum at Calcutta. The legend has it that these elephants were killed with weapons made of a sort of hard cane.

refrains. The Coryphæus aforementioned, who leads and directs the dance (he is called *atheghümi*), is of less importance in the singing than the two *ōu*, one of whom dances about halfway down the chain and the other at its latter end. These two keep up a sort of falsetto accompaniment of "*ōu-ōu-ōu*" to the "ho-ho-ing" of the rest, and are paid very often from four annas to a rupee for their services, while Coryphæus rarely gets more than two annas.

The Sema women sing and dance at the same time, the dance, however, consisting merely of a semicircle of women who have linked arms and clasped hands, each woman taking with her right hand her neighbour's left after linking arms. The body is rocked on the right foot gently forward and backward, while the left foot is alternately advanced a step forward and withdrawn till the toe is behind the right heel, the clasped hands beating time to the melody, which is sung antiphonally by the two sides of the semicircle, the contraltos being on one side and the sopranos on the other. (The terms "contralto" and "soprano" as used here should not be interpreted too nicely.) The songs sung by them are usually in praise of visitors, and have more or less stereotyped formula.

Of genuine songs the Semas have a large number with various tunes, and it is essential to proper singing that there should be a number of voices of various qualities taking part. The subjects are usually connected with war or history, and tell of persons, and even dogs, and their deeds in taking heads or founding villages. A love interest of some sort is almost always if not invariably introduced, but it is often very slender and has not the prominence that it has in the songs of the Angamis, where it is usually the main interest. In singing when at work in the fields it is common to allow only two men of a working gang to sing the words of a song, the others joining in the refrain. This may possibly be due to a fear of mistakes affecting the cultivation, but is perhaps more probably because the attention devoted to the singing would interfere with the work. In singing a person's praises a set formula is employed, to the effect that So-and-so took the head of a girl

of Such-and-such a village, and So-and-so (his brother) put her hair in his ears, and So-and-so (his wife) rejoiced (*vide* Part VI). It is by no means essential that the exploit should really have been performed, and the writer has even heard such an one attributed to himself. Apart from the adaptations of this formula, new songs are not very often composed, traditional songs being adhered to. A Sema song when well sung is far from unmusical, and though the melody has a monotonous effect and gives one the feeling of listening to half the verse of a song repeated and repeated without any proper finish to the tune, there is often something undoubtedly attractive and even haunting about the cadence.

Sema songs are classified according to the occasion to which the tune and time are suited or for which the song was originally composed. The fact that a song belongs to a certain classification does not debar it from being sung on occasions which have no relation at all to its classification. The principal classes of songs are :—

1. *Lezhule* = songs sung in the house. ? < *ale* = song, *zhu* = try, *ale* = song.

2. *Alukehule* or *alukumlale* = songs sung at work in the fields. < *alu* = field, *ke-hu* = that which goes (to the fields), *akumla* = work.

3. *Aokeshile* or *Atishekeshile* or *Tisole* = songs sung when husking paddy (*ao* = cereal, *ati* = seed or fruit, *shi* = do).

4. *Yemusale* = songs sung when returning from a successful raid with an enemy's head. < *yema* = to string the head by means of a hole.

5. *Aphile* = songs sung at the *aghüzakiphe* genna when the poles called *akedu* are put up. (See Part IV, p. 227.)

6. *Avikhole* — sung when sacrificing mithan at gennas of social status, etc. (*avi* = mithan).

7. *Laghele* — sung when clearing a path (*ala* = path).

The latter classes have no words to the songs. The time of *avikhole* is probably adopted from Sangtams or Yachumi, who sing them to actual words.

Some of the words sung by Sangtams seem to reappear

in the Sema song, though the Semas do not know that they have any meaning, having merely adopted the tune.

Class 2 is subdivided into many sub-divisions, of which the following may be taken as examples :—

(*a*) *Pushele*—sung when digging—slow time.

(*b*) *Mozale*—sung when hoeing out weeds from the young blades—fast time.

(*c*) *Lotisale*—sung when plucking out weeds from the ripening crops.

(*d*) *Lephile*—sung when reaping.

(*e*) *Luphile*—sung when pulling out the stubble to prepare for the sowing of the second crop.

Some examples of classes 1 and 2 are given in Part VI.

Daily Life.

The daily life of the Sema is usually a hard one. He rises up early and eats the bread of carefulness. The women get up at daybreak and open the door of the house, and, if the fire has gone out, fetch a brand from a neighbour's house. They then blow up the fire, and women go to the village spring for water or send their daughters and children. There they wash, and on coming back start getting ready the morning meal. Meanwhile " himself " has got up and been busy with any odd job such as peeling strips of pliant bamboo or making mats. After eating the morning meal a start is made for the fields. If the children are not taken with them, they are given some rice to serve as their midday meal and sent off to collect sticks or something of the sort. Their parents and elder brothers and sisters, taking cold rice and rice beer, go off to their fields, where they work in gangs, every member of the village belonging to a specific working gang (*aluzhi*), usually composed of contemporaries. Early in the afternoon one young man is told off by each gang to cut firewood, and he takes with him the fuel basket of every girl in his gang, which he fills. Towards evening, when the work in the fields stops, the girls go off to get their baskets, and each gives the wood-cutter a piece of meat. The others return direct to the village. Both girls and young men wash themselves in any stream that crosses their path on the way home, and if there is no such stream they go without, as they do also when the work in the fields

HOUSE OF INATO, CHIEF OF LUMITSAMI, WITH Y-SHAPED GENNA POSTS AND THE CHIEF'S WIDOW KEENING HER DEAD HUSBAND IN THE FOREGROUND.

WOMAN WASHING AT THE VILLAGE SPRING. BAMBOO "CHUNGAS" FOR CARRYING WATER.

[*To face p.* 116.

is exceptionally heavy, lasts late, and makes everyone dead tired. Meanwhile the men and women who are too old for work stay in the village and dry paddy in the sun on mats, scaring off the pigs and fowls. If they have no paddy of their own to dry they dry someone else's, getting by the way of wages a little salt, rice, and chillies. In the evening the girls husk paddy, the young men also sometimes, but the evening meal is usually followed by an early retirement on the part of everyone, the young men collecting in the *akishekhoh* of the house of the chief or of some other rich man, and the girls going off, in parties of three or four or so, to the house of any friend whose parent's house has a suitable *abidela*. The doors of all houses are barred for the night, and generally speaking not opened till daybreak. Why the women should then be invariably the first to go out is a little hard to understand, as it is often decidedly dangerous in the unadministered villages, dawn being the time of raids. The men do not ordinarily expose their women-folk to danger, and always take the posts of danger in the fields, yet they readily admit that women frequently lose their heads (in a literal sense) as a result of being the first to leave the house in the early morning. Possibly it is regarded as a male's privilege to lie a little longer abed of a morning, though a Sema's bed is hard enough in all conscience.

On some genna days there is no prohibition on leaving the village, and on these days, as on the somewhat rare occasions when there is little or no cultivation work to be done, the men go off hunting, and the women go out to collect green-stuff and fungi from the jungle for food, or sit at home weaving or pot-making in the villages where these arts are practised. On the majority of genna days, however, no one may leave the village, even to fetch wood, nor is any work done, and the day is spent by most of the villagers in searching one another's heads for vermin, exactly like their remote ancestors of the tree-dwelling, hairy, Darwinian age. Songs round the fire finish off the day, and on such days, too, the old men tell stories—many of them of unprintable import—to any that care to listen. It is a hard life on the whole, and the sabbath is well earned.

PART III

ORGANISATION OF SOCIETY, LAWS AND CUSTOMS—EXOGAMY —THE "MANOR"—THE VILLAGE—PROPERTY, ADOPTION —SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES, WAR—WOMEN.

PART III

ORGANISATION OF SOCIETY, LAWS AND CUSTOMS—EXOGAMY —THE "MANOR"—THE VILLAGE—PROPERTY, ADOPTION —SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES, WAR—WOMEN.

THE Semas can only be said to have a "tribal" organisation in so far as the villages which they inhabit are organised on a pattern generally prevalent throughout the tribe, for the tribe itself is not an organised community at all. Nor is the unit of Sema society the exogamous clan (*ayeh*), as among the Angamis. Clan feeling exists, as does tribal feeling, but it has no organs. The basis of Sema society is the village (*apfu*, *agana*), or part of a village (*asah*),[1] which is under the control of a chief. That is not to say that the clan is never important in the Sema polity. In Lazemi ("Lozema"), where there are no chiefs and almost certainly an Angami element in the population, the clans (or rather septs, for the village is almost entirely of the Asimi clan) seem to be as important as in the Angami villages. Other villages, again, are split into *asah* which follow chiefs of different clans; thus Lochomi contains a Zumomi *asah* and an Achumi *asah*, Natami and Sishimi each contain a Zumomi and Yepothomi *asah*, Seromi an Awomi *asah* and an Ayemi *asah*. In the latter case there is an ancient and abiding feud between the two. In speaking, however, of a village or *asah* ("khel") as of such and such a clan,

[1] Such a part of a village is usually known in the Naga Hills as a "khel." This Assamese word originally denoted an exogamous group of the Ahoms and was applied to Nagas first of all, perhaps to signify an exogamous group, but came to be used regularly for the part of a village inhabited in the Angami country by an exogamous group, and hence for a division of any village, which in the Sema country is very rarely conterminous with an exogamous group.

it should be clearly understood that in most of such groups there are to be found men of many, or at least of several, different clans. The predominant position, however, of the chief, and of his relatives on the male side, leads to the rough classification of the whole group as of their clan. The real pivot of Sema society is the chief.

Exogamy

This is not to suggest, however, that the clan is unimportant. It pervades the life of the ordinary Sema from his birth upwards, determining, or at any rate influencing, his choice of food, of wives, of friends, and sometimes of enemies, for now and then clan feeling is strong enough to cause war, as in the case of the old hostility between the Yepothomi and Zumomi clans in the Tizu valley, where the Zumomi villages prevented the Yepothomi from coming into Kohima. This particular feud, however, is more or less dormant, as the Yepothomi villages in that quarter have quarrelled among themselves. The Sema clans are usually reckoned at twenty-two,[1] viz. :—

Asĭmi	Zumomi
Cheshalimi	Kibalīmi
Chishilimi	Katenīmi
Achumi	Khuzhomi
Awomi	Khakhomi (*or* Khakholīmi)
Ayemi, Chekemi, Yepothōmi[2]	Tsükomi, Wokhami, Wotzami
Nunomi	Chunimi
Shohemi	Chophimi
Kinimi	Muromi.

Among these, some of them may be grouped by various tests. For instance, when sacrificing a mithan in the Asimi and the clans nearly connected with it, the giver of the feast can eat the flesh of the mithan. In the Yepothomi and the connected clans of the Ayemi, Chekemi, Nunomi, and Awomi the giver of the feast may not eat of the meat.

[1] There is also a small and insignificant clan called *Shochumi*, and probably others.

[2] Sometimes also spoken of collectively as "Tukomi" by villages near the Dayang.

The ceremonial is also different in the two groups. Such groupings, however, are not along clear lines. The Shohemi, for instance, follow the practice of the Yepothomi in not eating of sacrificial meat, but in ceremonial observances follow the Asimi practice. The last two clans on the list are of Ao and Sangtam origin respectively, and the Chophimi, at any rate, are almost purely Ao in the matter of ceremonial, as well as following other Ao customs, such as the maintenance of village drums, huge trees hollowed, carved at the head and tail, and kept in a house of their own and beaten upon at various seasons. Even the Chophimi speech is still tainted with Ao, as, though Sema has become their language, they speak it like an Ao-speaking Sema, and the expression *Chophi-Choli-tsa* (" Chophimi-Ao-speech ") is used by other Semas for an incorrect use of the Sema language. The Chophimi seem to have originated in some of the original inhabitants of Lotesami village, who fled before the Semas to Longsa and were allowed to return. They left some relations in Longsa, who are now spoken of by the Aos as of Sema origin, which they probably, almost certainly, are not. The Muromi are few in number and found principally east of the Tizu, and seem to be of Sangtam origin. They are regarded as persons of ill omen, and if a man starting out hunting or on the warpath meets one of them he gets nothing at all. For this reason they are sometimes called Murosipomi, the Muro whom it is unlucky to meet.[1] Part of the Awomi are also of Sangtam origin. The genuine Sema Awomi amalgamated with some Sangtams from Yetsimi who claimed to be of the same clan, but these men did not eat the meat of dogs, whereat one Hoshomu of the genuine Sema Awomi admonished them, saying that the real Awomi eat dog, and if they considered themselves Awomi they had better do the same. On this many of them were persuaded, but some would not, and so the Awomi clan is divided into Awomi proper and *Awomi-atsüshi-kuchukumo* (*i.e.*, " the Awomi who eat no dog meat," sometimes also spoken of as " *Awo-kinimi*," since the Kinimi also abstain from dog meat). Part of the Yepothomi and Ayemi clans,

[1] *Cf.* the Cherechima of the Memi Angamis.

notably those in Vekohomi, are also of Sangtam origin, hailing from Yetsimi, though they claim nowadays to be genuine Semas. These clans are called by Semas of the western villages "Tukomi," though Tukomi is really the Sema name for the more southern Sangtams.[1] An almost sure indication, however, of the non-Sema origin of the part of the Yepothomi clan referred to is that they eat the flesh of the bird called *awutsa*,[2] like the Chophimi and most of the Awomi. Apparently the genuine Semas all abstain, or used to abstain, from eating this flesh. Most of the Sema clans have their own food gennas of one sort or another, except perhaps the Chunimi, who are said to "eat everything" and to have acquired their name for this reason. Even in this case, however, everything does not apparently include the *awutsa* or the other foods that have already been mentioned in Part II as genna to Semas in general. The Asimi, Cheshalimi, Chishilimi, and probably some others, abstain from the winged ants (*alhu*) that emerge in the autumn from the ant-hills of white ants, and are considered generally a great delicacy, and from a certain sort of edible fungus that grows directly out of the earth. The reason given is that as their first ancestors emerged from the earth, so do the winged ants and the fungus, which should therefore not be eaten; for the Semas, while regarding Tukahu as the fount of their race, believe, like the Angamis and other Naga tribes, that their original progenitors emerged from the bowels of the earth. In the Kinimi clan the men abstain from the flesh of dogs and goats, while the women eat of the pig and fowl alone of domestic animals, and of wild mammals only deer (barking deer and sambhar) and porcupine. There is, however, a section of the Kinimi which has disregarded, or which has never observed, these restrictions, and which is called in consequence Kini-Chunimi, because though Kinimi they resemble the Chunimi, "eaters

[1] So also the Asimi of Lazemi, Mishilimi, etc., speak of all Semas to the east of them as *Tushomi*, a term applied by Semas in general to the alien tribes to the east of them. It suggests considerable expulsion and absorption of foreign elements by the more easterly Sema villages, which is indeed the case.

[2] The Rufous-necked Hornbill (*Aceros Nepalensis*). See Part II, p. 93.

of everything," in having no clan food restrictions. This section is said to be of the same blood as the Kinimi, but it has possibly an adoptive origin, like part of the Awomi and Yepothomi clans, such amalgamation being very easy and frequent enough.

The word for "clan," by the way, is *ayeh* or *aya*, and the same word serves for "custom," an indication, perhaps, of an original differentiation between clans according to the customs they followed.

Properly to appreciate the conditions of Sema society six or seven generations ago, we must probably conceive of very small village communities living very isolated lives among heavy forest land only cleared in small patches. These communities must have had a very severe struggle for existence, and no doubt dwindling villages would frequently migrate and amalgamate both with others of their own kin and with villages of different tribes.

As to the origin of the clans, accounts are very conflicting. The Chishilimi have a Rabelaisan story that all the Semas were originally divided into two divisions, the Chishilimi and the Ashonumi, which comprised all the other clans, including the Cheshalimi, and that everyone claimed to be Chishilimi. To test this claim, it was decided that those whose ordure was white should belong to that clan, and the rest to the Ashonumi. The real Chishilimi then fed themselves on rice-meal, modhu, and light food, while the rest ate beef. This caused the real Chishilimi to be confirmed in their title. This story may conceivably contain some memory of prehistoric dispute between a Patrician and a Plebeian clan.[1] Several Naga traditions in various tribes suggest that the race may have had a mixed origin. In any case it has no bearing on the present status of the clans. The most consistent and explicit of many diverse traditions is one which speaks of the first man as one Nikhoga, who had six sons. These six founded six clans,

[1] Chesha and Chishi perhaps represent two brothers who emerged from the bowels of the earth in whom we may recognise the two brothers Thevo and Thekro of the Angami legend. Extant accounts, however, give the two brothers a human origin, as recorded below

the Asimi, Awomi, Achumi, Ayemi, Tsunimi, and Aboimi. The first four are still represented by clans bearing their names, but, unless Tsunimi = Chunimi, the last two clans have been split up into other clans and their names have disappeared. One variant tradition gives the last five sons only with a father named "Sĭmi," though this is an obviously collective noun. Another gives the six original clans as the Asimi, Awomi, Chunimi, Ayemi, Achumi, and Yepothomi, and relates that Nikhoga was only able to find a wife for the eldest, and the others kept intriguing with her and had to be ejected, so he made a feast, killed a pig, a dog, and a goat, and called on his sons to choose their shares. The founder of the Chunimi took the dog's head, and his clan are called Chunimi because, like a dog, they eat everything, *chu* = "eat." The ancestor of the Awomi chose the pig's head and were called after it, for *awo* = "pig." That of the Ayemi made a great hullabaloo when carrying wood to cook the feast, hence the name Ayemi from *yeye* = "jabber." The fifth son started off eating first, and his descendants are therefore called Achumi, from *ana* = "rice" and *chu* = "eat." The sixth stood looking on in silence and so earned for his family the name Yepothomi, the silent clansmen, from *aye* = "clan" and *putho* = "night" and therefore silence. Derivation a little strained. As regards the Yepothomi, however, the split between them and the Ayemi is held by both clans to have been comparatively recent, both being descended from one ancestor, Kaka. Anyway, they have no signs now of the silent character imputed to their ancestor. The tradition which gives the Tsunimi and the Aboimi as two of the original clans is to be preferred, if one can have a preference as regards such legends, as otherwise there is no reason why their names should be remembered at all. As regards the other clans, some are given a purely patronymic origin. The Cheshalimi and Chishilimi are descended from Chesha and Chishi, the two sons of one Khogamo ; the Kinimi from one Kinishe (though Kinimi also means "rich men" and some prefer this explanation), and the Khakomi, or Khakholimi, from one Khakho. The Wotzami ascribe their name to a

legend that their founder when catching a pig (*awo*) got his hand (*a'ou*) bitten (*tsa*), while the Kibalimi clan are credited with having developed a most uncleanly and insanitary habit owing to their being afraid to leave their houses (*ki*) in the early morning, and are named accordingly. Other and even less likely explanations of other clan names will be found in one of the stories in Part VI. There is no call to recount them here. The Wotzami, it should be added, abstain from killing or eating the "huluk" ape, with which (like the Chang Kudamji) they acknowledge a sort of vague blood connection, though they do not always care to be reminded of it. Some say that a Wotzami man turned into a "huluk" and that all the Wotzami become apes after death, others that a "huluk" became a man and founded the Wotzami clan. This version, even apart from Darwin, has on the face of it the more plausibility, as there have been persons unkind enough to say that there is little need of death to turn the Wotzami into apes.[1]

The origin of the Zumomi clan is a matter of much dispute. The explanation of the word is generally believed to be either from *azhi*, "blood," and *mo*, "not," because they were of no one's blood, or, with less improbability, from *zhu*, "perceive," and *mo*, "not," because no one could point to the husband of the mother of their first male ancestor. The clan traces its human descent to an ancestress, one Putheli, a daughter, by some accounts, of Khoghamo, father of Chesha and Chishi, and who was the father of her son perhaps mattered little enough before the fashion in genealogies became patrilineal. Now, however, the birth of her son by an unknown father is a matter of such shame to the powerful clan of her descendants that they will invent any story to account for it, and the writer has heard at least half a dozen totally different accounts of the origin of the Zumomi from members of that clan, though the other clans seem unanimous enough on the matter, giving the one version the Zumomi will not accept. One story derives their origin from some red earth that looks like blood,

[1] A Kachari story given by Soppitt (*op. cit.*, p. 70) tells how the huluk derives his origin from the Kachari.

another from a species of red plantain, and a third, by a very far-fetched derivation, from a supposed occasion on which the plantain leaf cups available failed to suffice for so hard-drinking a clan. The family of Ghukiya, a Zumomi chief of great renown in his day and recently deceased, name as the father of Putheli's son a spirit called Tüghaki, who was in the habit of taking the form of a squirrel (*Tüghaki* probably = "spirit Squirrel") and who died before the birth of the son. According to the powerful Sakhai branch, however, Putheli's husband was a mortal man who was killed by his enemies at Emilomi, when his widow and infant son migrated to Sukomi and his name was forgotten. And there are other versions. The number of stories to account for the origin of the clan clearly shows that they are fantastic inventions to evade the slur of bastardy, or at any rate to evade admitting it, for the Zumomi are a new clan sprung to eminence in three generations, and Putheli is almost certainly an historic personage. It is just possible that an injustice has been done to her reputation by a change since her day in domestic etiquette, while the attempt to evade tracing descent to a woman by the imputation of fatherhood to inanimate or non-human sources suggests that totemism in some parts of the world may have had an origin of this sort.

Some of the food tabus may no doubt suggest the possibility of some form of totemism having obtained among the Semas, but except for the Wotzami there is not a single clan which genuinely traces its descent from an animal or plant, and none has anything like a definite totem. The abstention by almost all Semas from eating or touching the hornbill called *awutsa* conceivably points again in the same direction, but seems to have a different origin.[1] If there is any animal which one would expect the Sema to regard as a totem should be regarded, it would be the tiger (*angshu*), which he credits with an origin senior to his own, one mother having had three children, a spirit, a tiger, and a man whose respective descendants still people the world. The tiger, however, though many superstitions surround him, is no

[1] See Part II under Food tabus

totem. The great hornbill (*aghacho*) [1] and perhaps the python (*aïthu*) fall to some extent in the same class as the tiger, though not credited with any similar origin, but they too are in no sense totems. The probable origin of food tabus is in some belief at some time that such foods have proved detrimental to persons eating them. The question of totemism among the Naga tribes generally has been gone into at more length in the Angami monograph. Generally speaking, it seems that one would be rather going out of one's way to attempt uncalled-for ethnological gymnastics if one set about demonstrating the former existence of totemism in Naga tribes. It may conceivably have existed once, but if it did it has left singularly few traces behind. The question is only introduced here because the connection between exogamy and totemism seems so frequent that exogamy without totemism seems to call for some remark. It is perhaps conceivable that totemism did indeed exist at some former date in conjunction with a matrilineal system of descent, and that when the patrilineal system supplanted the former (as it might be expected to do when once the father's share in the production of offspring was fully recognised and understood) some odd remnants of the totemism of the abandoned matrilineal clans survived the change in society. If this were the case, it might account for some of the rather confused and unreasonable food tabus of the Sema clans.

The twenty-two clans have been given in the list as exogamous, but although these twenty-two are still recognised as the genuine Sema clans, many of them have long ceased to be in any sense exogamous. The smaller ones, Katenimi, Kibalimi, Khuzhomi, Tsükomi, Wokhami, Wotzami, and Chekemi, still appear to remain exogamous, at any rate as a general rule, as also the Ayemi, who even avoid marriage with the Chekemi as being too nearly related.

The Muromi also are said to be still exogamous. Of the others the Awomi have, as already noticed, split into two divisions which without compunction intermarry with one another as well as with outside clans. A further split in

[1] *Dichoceros bicornis.*

the Awomi was attempted in the last generation by Kiyelho of Seromi, father of Kivilho, the present Awomi chief of that village. He said that his ancestors, though incorporated with the Awomi clan, came from Yetsimi and were not of the same stock as the original Sema nucleus, and that in future he and they would intermarry with the rest of the Awomi at will and form a separate clan. Immediately after, however, he lost his head to a hostile village, and this was regarded as a judgment on his impiety, and no more was heard of his proposed split. The Chishilimi have long been divided into the descendants of Chuoka and those of Kutathu, which superseded the Chishilimi as exogamous groups and are themselves ceasing to be exogamous. The Chophimi, again, have ceased to be exogamous (if they ever were so), being at present composed of two sub-divisions at least, Molimi and Woremi,[1] and most if not all of the other larger clans have lost their exogamous nature, the exogamous rule having been replaced by a working system under which marriages between persons of the same clan are not forbidden, provided that the parties to the marriage have no common ancestor in the direct paternal line for five generations. Sometimes four generations is given as the limit. It is true that this rule is usually regarded as applying to parties from different villages only. Very likely the average villager only knows his parentage for about two or three generations, and hence this safeguard insisting on different villages, but it is probably a proviso not always too rigidly insisted on, much depending on the number of eligible girls locally available. Indeed the Ayemi and Yepothomi, who are considered to be nearly related, have a tradition that the prohibition of marriage between them was broken down by the difficulty of obtaining women from other clans.

The purely patriarchal nature of Sema society as it exists at present cannot be too emphatically stated. The female line is of no account, and relationship through the female, though recognised as existing, is barely recognised and nothing more. A Sema may not marry his wife's mother, but can marry practically any female relation of his own

[1] ? *Wore-mi*<*Aorr*, the name used by the Aos for themselves.

mother on her father's side. For although some Semas are said, like the ancient Athenians,[1] to forbid marriage with a mother's sister by the same mother,[2] even though the father be different, the vast majority hold that a man may marry his mother's sister by the same father and mother without any suggestion of impropriety, whereas he would be guilty of incest, and banished from the village, if he took to himself, say, a third cousin in patrilineal descent. He may also marry his father's sister's daughter, though such marriages are regarded as unfertile. Whether the exogamous clan was always patrilineal is a matter for considerable doubt. There is much to suggest that a matrilineal system survived till comparatively recently, and if this is the case the alleged occasional prohibition of marriage with the mother's uterine sister would (if it really exists) be a survival of it,[3] and it must be admitted that there is something suggestive about the syllable *li* which appears in several of the clan and sept names—Cheshalimi, Chishilimi, Khakholimi, Kibalimi ; in names of communities such as Mishilimi, Mukalimi, Kichilimi, Sisilimi, all of them, be it noted, villages of early foundation among the Semas ; and in a few other words such as *apelimi* (= "brethren," used by women only), *angulimi* (= "relations-in-law"). This suffix or infix *li* strongly suggests a derivation from *alimi*, a girl or woman ; it is found in almost all female names, *e.g.*,

[1] As also the Tartars, if Sir John Mandeville (ch. xxv), and Johannes de Plano Carpini (ch. vi, Hakluyt's "Navigations," etc.) from whom he probably plagiarised, are to be trusted.

[2] One informant only told me this ; all others I have asked strenuously deny the existence of any such prohibition. I have, moreover, some reason to suppose that my informant, though a chief and skilled in obscure points of custom and generally a most trustworthy authority, gave this theory on the spur of the moment under the influence of some feeling of shame, as a listener from another tribe expressed abhorrence at hearing that he (my informant) had married his mother's paternal sister, whereon my informant promptly remarked, "Oh, we allow it provided the mother is different," a standpoint from which, however, he refused to withdraw, and which he amplified by saying that marriage with a mother's uterine sister by a different father was equally forbidden, though there was a chorus of dissent from other Semas who stood by.

[3] It is possible that there may also be some significance in the fact that a Sema *in extremis* or in any difficulty calls out "'Mother !", *iza*, though his mother may have been dead for years.

Khetoli, Putheli, Ivili, and the like, and when attached to the name of a village or people means a girl or young woman of that village or tribe, *e.g.*, Likeli, a girl of Like (Nankam) village; Aborlimi, an Abor girl; Kungulimi, girls of the Kungumi or sky spirits. The obvious inference is that if the infix *li* in clan and community names is derived from *alimi*, the clans and communities in question recognised a matrilineal line of descent. Thus Mishilimi would mean Mishili's people, Khakholimi the descendants of Khakoli, and so forth. Mishili and Khakhuli are still in use as women's names, and possibly some of the others. On the other hand, the particle *li* may have some totally different significance; it frequently, for instance, has a purely collective sense, in which case it is added as a suffix to the noun of the individual to make a collective noun; thus *asahu* = a "thorn" or "thorn-bush," > *asahuli* = a "thorn-brake," "a mass of thorny bushes," so also we have *akkehli* < *akkeh* = "cane." It seems likely enough that the *li* in clan names is of the same significance as this. In fact the writer has heard a Sema head-man of carriers in a transport corps speak of his "section-*li-mi*," meaning the men of his section. The most probable explanation would seem to be that the merely collective *li* has been applied by analogy from human communities to plants and referred originally to a matrilineal community, but we do in one or two instances find *li* as the termination of men's names as well as of women's, *e.g.*, Hocheli, Tsivili, though the latter perhaps is not a genuine Sema name. The frequent use of the possessive form *i-limi* without any possessive sense is to be noted. *Apropos* of Mr. Peale's theory, mentioned below, it is worth noticing that *alimi* (*ilimi*) is used equally for unmarried girls of the speaker's own community and for young married women who may be drawn from another community.

If otherwise suitable, marriage with the mother's brother's daughter, or father's sister's son,[1] is preferred. The reason given is that such marriages conduce to domestic concord owing to the relationship between the parents of the couple, who see that their children behave well to one another.

[1] *Cf.* Playfair, "The Garos," p. 68.

After marriage a man performing the *Apisa* ceremony (*v. infra*) must give his wife's mother one hind leg of the mithan he kills and must give her half a leg or any small portion of meat when he performs less important ceremonies. The late Mr. S. E. Peale put forward a most ingenious theory[1] that within the community marriage, as implying an exclusive right by any one man to any one woman, did not exist; and that the only wives who existed as private property were those who had been captured from some other community, and had thus become the property of their captors; thus giving rise to a system of exogamous marriage, and whereby he also explains freedom of sexual intercourse between the unmarried. The arguments, however, which support this theory do not hold good among the Semas, and it is doubtful whether they do so among any Naga tribes. Except perhaps in Lazemi, free intercourse with bachelors is not allowed to unmarried girls as in the Angami and Ao tribes, and in any case sexual intercourse between persons of the same clan is regarded as incest,[2] whether it takes place before or after marriage, and is punished by banishment. Even in Lazemi, as probably also in one or two neighbouring villages, where sexual relations between the unmarried are pretty free, such relations between persons of the same exogamous clan are contrary to custom. That is not to say that they never take place. Rules that are not broken have yet to be made. But sexual intercourse between persons of the same exogamous group is not approved by the custom or sentiment of the Semas, nor indeed by that of the neighbouring Naga tribes. Of course this feeling may have grown up after the acknowledgment of a private right in captured or purchased women,

[1] See "Census of India," 1891, "Assam," vol. i, p. 122, note.

[2] The same view is held by all the Naga tribes with whose custom I am acquainted, though I cannot answer for the Konyăk tribes; in Nankam and Mongmethang, Ao villages, the custom of having free intercourse with members of one's own exogamous group exists, but it is regarded with aversion by other Aos and is looked on as a case of recent degeneration, and actual marriage is punished by destruction of the house of the couple and a fine, "in accordance with ancient custom." No doubt breaches of the custom exist everywhere, but they are punished when detected. Mr. Davis, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 250, seems to have erred, though Angamis regard such incest more leniently than other Naga tribes.

but it may be noted that while Sema marriage is still practically a matter of purchase, capture is not and would seem never to have been a basis for marriage. The women of a Sema's enemies are regarded as the possessors of heads to be taken and of long hair to be made into ornaments, not as possible wives or slaves. Slavery is not practised even by independent Semas, and the daughters of persons putting themselves under the protection of someone else, whereby they become bound to him, as described later, are barred from marriage with him by becoming quasi-members of his clan. Another argument used in support of Mr. Peale's theory is that exogamy is not an effective bar to consanguineous marriage. That is true, but neither for that matter is our own system, which allows unlimited first-cousin marriages, frequently with disastrous results, while forbidding (till recently at any rate) marriage with a wife's sister. That the Sema recognises the evils of consanguineous marriage is clear enough, and he describes it as sterile or as resulting in the idiocy or deformity of its offspring, and it is also clear that he considers exogamy a sufficiently effective bar.[1]

Before leaving the exogamous clan it should be mentioned that a clan often identifies itself with a clan belonging to a neighbouring tribe. Such identifications, while sometimes apparently not unreasonable, would frequently seem to be entirely supposititious, and will not bear investigation. The relationship is usually based on an alleged common genna ; thus the Kinimi claim kinship with the Ao Lungkamrr clan on the strength of a common avoidance by each of dog's flesh, among other and differing tabus. The Yepothomi and Ayemi claim kinship with certain Yachumi and Sangtam clans on the ground of common traditions. Here, however, we know that the Yepothomi at any rate has absorbed alien communities from these tribes, so that such resemblances might well be expected. On the other hand, an identifica-

[1] The Changs bar marriage between the males of any clan and the descendants of females of the same patrilineal clan to the fourth generation, and although recently in some cases the bar has been reduced to two generations by rebellious individuals, this is regarded as dangerous and objectionable.

tion was attempted within the writer's knowledge between the Wotzami and the Lhota clan of the Shitri for which no clear ground could be established at all. The truth is that it is exceedingly useful to persons of different tribes to establish definitely an identity of clan. If a man's hosts in an alien village regard him as of their clan, he is at any rate safe from being cut up by them, even though others of their village may feel no compunction in taking his head, and this aspect of clan feeling has undoubtedly caused men to go out of their way to claim reciprocally an identity of clan on the slenderest pretexts. Once established, such a theory rapidly gains ground, as traders of both the tribes affected by it are only too glad to take advantage of it. It should be added that this explanation of the identification of clans in different tribes on fanciful grounds was given to the writer by Nagas themselves, who readily admitted that they observed connections between clans of different tribes, which were confirmed by no genuine identity at all.

The Sema at present practises polygyny, but it is just possible that some tradition of polyandry lingers in the story of Nikhoga already related, who drove out his younger sons because they would intrigue with the elder's wife, and in the tradition that Tsakalu, an ancestor of the Ayemi, and Arka, one of the Achumi founders of Yezami, had a wife in common, having combined to purchase her. There is, however, no trace of any such practice in present usage.[1] In point of practice it is usually only chiefs and other rich men who keep more than one wife, the ordinary villager being unable to afford it, but even so the average Sema is exceedingly prolific and the tribe has increased at a most remarkable rate. In 1891[2] it was rapidly increasing, and it is still doing so. Amongst the chiefs with their numerous wives families are often very large indeed, though there are signs of a change setting in, possibly due to the

[1] Among the Lhotas men often have access to the wives of their brothers when the latter are away from home, and the adultery of a wife with one of her husband's clan is almost always amicably settled, being viewed as a far less serious affair than adultery with a man of another exogamous group.

[2] "Census of India," 1891, "Assam," vol. i, p. 248.

rapidly increasing inability of the land to maintain the population.

A Sema may marry his father's wife, other, of course, than his own mother, after his father's death, and indeed is regarded as entitled to do so if he wishes, though the widow is under no obligation to marry her step-son and no penalty attaches to her refusal to do so. Should she refuse, she has sooner or later to take her customary share of her late husband's movables and her departure. Should she marry one of his sons, however, the dead man's movable property is not divided until her death, for though the other widows of the dead man would be given their shares and their *congé*, the other sons must reserve division. Should several sons marry widows this property would probably be temporarily divided among these sons and re-divided later, but this is a contingency which the writer has never known to arise. It may be that here again it is possible to see a survival of the transference of property in the female line, particularly as marriage with a deceased father's widow is commonest among chiefs' families (see "The Golden Bough," 3rd edition, vol. ii, pp. 285 *et seq.*). But it seems quite clear that the reason why this form of marriage is most prevalent in chiefs' families is that they alone are rich enough to have several wives, of whom the most recent is normally younger than the elder sons. The practice is also found among rich men other than chiefs. It appears also likely that it may have its origin in its obvious advantages. The widow naturally wishes to retain the care of her children, but as these pass into the guardianship and keeping of her husband's heir, she can only do so by marrying him, a proceeding which also ensures her retention of the ornaments that formed her dowry. This arrangement, from the point of view of the male, avoids the dangers of step-motherhood, the Sema having the traditional, and in their case at any rate not entirely unjustified, belief in the step-mother's cruelty to her step-children. On the other hand, the marriage with the widow does not entitle her husband to any larger share in his father's property eventually, and the temporary postponement of division seems to be one of courtesy to the dead

man's wife, a Sema's wife holding quite a dignified position in his household and in the management of his affairs. Indeed it is sometimes advisable to retain the widow in the family for this reason alone, as she often has a better knowledge of the debts due from and to her husband than his heirs have.

It should be added that where a man has died leaving only young children, and his brother has taken over the property, this property is often left intact till the latter's death, when the nephews or other male heirs stand in the same position to deceased's widows as his sons, as far as the matter of marriage with them is concerned.

It has been remarked that in the marriage of the widow by her son a trace of a former matrilineal system may perhaps be detected. It is possible to detect a more definite trace in the position of a mother's brother. Among the Semas, as among other Naga tribes, the greatest respect is enjoined on a man for his mother's brother. The latter is not, however, necessarily or even usually addressed by the respectful term *i-pu* (= "my father"), *i-ngu* being the correct designation, but it is a very serious matter to say anything to him at all which might give offence, while he must observe a reciprocal, though perhaps less rigid, forbearance towards his sister's son. There is no social penalty attaching to the breach of this etiquette, as the breach is believed to entail its own penalty of serious misfortune or death. In the case of a girl's relations to her mother's brother we find a definite obligation existing, which is inherited from the mother's brother by his son if it has not been discharged. When a man's sister's daughter is married, or when, after his father's death, his father's sister's daughter is married, he must give her a present, which may be anything from a purely nominal gift of meat—half a pig's leg or a little flesh—to a large share of a mithan. The girl's husband must then make a return. A definite sum is agreed upon, according to the means of the newly married couple, to be paid at leisure. This sum may be anything from a little paddy or salt up to Rs.15/–or 20/–. It may be paid at the couple's convenience, and is claimable from the

husband's heirs if he die without paying. This custom, or rather the payment entailed by it, is called *aghasho*.

On examining the Sema names for relations one is struck at the outset by their paucity as compared with those used in the plains of India, and by the fact that the terms used are applied to males or females according to their relation to the speaker; a woman, for instance, calls her sister's husband *i-chi*, and the term is used inversely by a man for his elder brother's wife; and other terms for relations by marriage are little more precise than our expression "-in-law." In connection with the apparent derivation of the infix *li* < *alimi* referred to above, it is worth while noting that the use of the expression *angulimi* seems to have a stricter interpretation than the mere word *angu*, which is used by both husband and wife for each other's male relations. Failing any suggestion to the contrary, *angulimi* used by a man would certainly be understood to refer definitely to his mother's male relatives. On the other hand, while there is a word for a son's wife (*amukeshiu*, also applied to a younger brother's or husband's younger brother's wife; *anga*, the word for an infant in arms, is also used), there is no word for a daughter's husband. With regard to the words for husband and wife a rather curious comparison with the Angami terms suggests itself. The terms are apparently the same but inverted. In Sema "husband" = *akimi* (*i.e.*, "house man" or "house men"), "wife" = *anipfu*. In Angami *'nupfo* = "husband," while *'kima* (with precisely the same significance as *akimi*) = "wife." It may be added that *-pfo* is very like a feminine termination in Angami, and *'nupfo* might = "child-bearer." Is it possible to see here an inversion of the terms by the Angami, and the record therein of a change from a household with a woman at its head to a patrilineal family? Or is it merely a trace of the couvade, or what is the meaning of it?[1] The women and men of the Chang tribe use the expressions *champa-pou* and *champa-nyu* for husband and wife, meaning the "male from the house" and the "female

[1] In Kezami the word for husband and for wife is the same, *akami* being used for both.

from the house," respectively for their husbands and wives.[1] The use of *aza* for a female maternal cousin as well as for "mother" is to be remarked, whereas the term used for a mother's brother is only *angu;* the expression *apuza* is also to be noticed, and just conceivably suggests again a former matrilineal system, as it apparently means "father's mother," but is applied to all grandparents of either sex except the father's father. It seems, however, more likely that the termination *-za* here represents the Angami *-tsa* which terminates the four Angami words for "grandparent."

In the following table[2] of the names used by Semas for relatives and connections the names are given in what may be called their disjunctive form. In use the initial *a-* is replaced by the possessive pronoun, thus *apu* = a father > "my father" (or in address "Father") = *i-pu*, "your father" = *o-pu*, "his father" = *pa-pu*. Unless explicitly specified as M. S. (= man speaking) or W. S. (= woman speaking) the terms given are used by both sexes alike.

Asü = paternal grandfather or other ancestor (lit. "tree," "stock").

Apuza[3] = Grandparent, other than *asü*.

Apu = (1) Father.
(2) Father's brother.

N.B.—If it is necessary to specify further, a man will say, for instance, *i-pu pa'mu*, "my father his elder brother," but in addressing him he would use *i-pu* simply. In speaking in Assamese the Sema does not use the correct Assamese terms, whatever those may be, but speaks of his paternal uncles as his "big father" or "little father," according to whether the uncle is older or younger than his father himself.[4]

[1] *Lau* and *yak* are the real Chang terms for husband and wife, and are also used. [2] See Appendix III.

[3] The apparent meaning is literally "father's mother," but it may be connected with the Angami equivalent *putsau* in the case of the male grandparent. *Putsau* probably < *apu* = "father" and *tsa* = "side."

[4] As such terms as "big" and "little father" do not exist in Sema, the expressions used by him in "Assamese," দাদৰ বাবা, ছোট বাবা, may possibly be borrowed from the Ao, who uses in his own language the expressions "elder" and "younger father" and so translates them.

I-pu is also used as a term of general respect, and is in this way often applied to other relations and connections of mature age in place of the more explicit term.

Aza = (1) Mother.
(2) Mother's sister.
(3) Mother's brother's daughter.
N.B.—Like *i-pu*, *i-za* is used vaguely as a term of respect to relations who are not strictly entitled to be so addressed.

Amu = (1) Elder brother.
(2) Elder male cousin (on paternal side only).

Afu = (1) Elder sister.
(2) Father's brother's daughter older than speaker.
(3) Wife's sister (though here the personal name is used if she is young in comparison to the speaker).

Atükuzu, M. S. = } (1) Younger brother.
Apēu, W. S. = } (2) Male cousin (younger than speaker) on paternal side.

Achepfu, M. S. = } (1) Younger sister.
Atsünupfu, W. S. = } (2) Father's brother's daughter younger than speaker.

Atikeshiu, M. S. = (1) Sister's children.
(2) Father's sister's children.

Anu = (1) Son, daughter.
(2) Grandchild.
(3) Younger brother's child (M. S. only). An elder brother's child is addressed by name, and spoken of to a third person as *i-mu nu* (= "my elder brother's child").
Anu also = "child" generally.

Akimi = Husband (but the term is not used in addressing him by his wife, who does not even address him by name, but speaks of him as "Himself," *pa*).

Anipfu = Wife (but in addressing her the husband uses her personal name).

Ani = (1) Father's sister.
(2) Wife's mother.
(3) Husband's mother.
(4) Husband's elder sister.
(5) Elder brother's wife (W. S.).
(6) Husband's elder brother's wife; also husband's younger brother's wife if old in relation to the speaker.

Angu[1] = (1) Mother's brother.
(2) Mother's brother's son.
(3) Wife's father.
(4) Husband's father.
(5) Wife's brother (but *achi* is used by the eastern Semas).
(6) Husband's brother.

Achi = (1) Father's sister's husband.
(2) Wife's brother (but *angu* is used by the western Semas).
(3) Elder sister's husband (M. S.).
(4) Elder brother's wife (M. S.).
(5) Sister's husband (W. S.).

Ama or *Amakeshiū* = Younger sister's husband (M. S.).

Amukeshīū = (1) Younger brother's wife.
(2) (in some villages) Husband's younger brother's wife. (Personal name also used for this.)
(3) Son's wife. (But *anipa* used for this in some villages.)
N.B.—The literal meaning of *amukeshiu* appears to be one who makes or is made (*Keshiu*), an elder brother (*amu*).

[1] Of the term *angu* the Ao equivalent is *anük* or *tanüker* = a watcher guard <*anük* = to look after, guard, or protect. It is to be noticed that the root *ngu-*, meaning "to dwell, remain" in Sema, means "to see" in the Angami language, which is closely allied to Sema.

Anipa = (1) Wife's sister's husband.
(2) Husband's younger brother's wife (if young compared to speaker. But *amukeshiu* is used for this in Seromi).
(3) Son's wife. (But *amukeshiu* is used in some villages.)

N.B.—*Anga* (= "infant") is often used in addressing a son's wife. It seems to be used as a term of endearment.

A father's brother's wife is called *aza* or *achi*
A mother's brother's wife is called *aza* or *afu*
A mother's sister's husband is called *apu* or *amu*
} according to the relative ages of the person speaking and the person spoken to or of.

No specific term is used for the following relatives; either the personal name is employed, or some colourless expression such as "friend" (*ashou*, etc.), "lad" (*āpu*), or the respectful *apu*, *amu*, *aza*, *afu*, etc., according to circumstances :—

Daughter's husband.
Son's wife's parents.
Daughter's husband's parents.
Wife's brother's child.
Husband's brother's child.
Wife's sister's child.
Husband's sister's child.
Mother's sister's child.
Sister's daughter's husband.

The following collective terms are used :—

Atazümi, M. S.
Apelimi, W. S.
or
Apeliuñ
} = Brethren.

Atilimi or *atiliuñ* = Grandchildren (*ati* = "seed," "fruit").

Atikeshiu, M. S. = Persons related to the speaker through their mother, who is a woman of his family (*atikeshiū* = "come of (our, etc.) seed").

Angulimi = Male relations by marriage, in particular the males of a man's mother's family; but also those of his wife's family or of a woman's husband's family.

It should be added, perhaps, that the use of these terms of relationship[1] instead of the personal name of relation to be designated does not imply any genna or tabu on the utterance of that name, but is a matter of courtesy. Where it can be used without disrespect, as from a senior to a junior or between contemporaries, the personal name is frequently used; nor does a man ordinarily hesitate to mention any name save perhaps his own and that of his wife, and *vice versa*. Here he is restrained, or rather checked, by what is apparently a feeling of delicacy or shame at speaking on a point of such personal intimacy. It is, however, a feeling very easily and quickly overcome in the case of males at any rate. If the coyness shown in this matter has any origin other than that of modesty it would seem to have been forgotten, and this coyness itself seems gradually disappearing.[2]

Pedigrees.

The accompanying pedigrees of Semas have been recorded principally from Semas in the more northern villages of the tribe, and generally speaking from the families of chiefs, as in such families only is it ordinarily possible to get any pedigree for more than three or four generations. Moreover, owing to the prevalence of polygyny among chiefs,

[1] For reciprocal table on Dr. Rivers' plan see Appendix III.

[2] The Angami has exactly the same delicacy about mentioning his or her name and that of wife or husband as the case may be, though with the Angami, too, the feeling is rapidly weakening. It is a curious fact that the excuse given by the Angami for his reluctance to mention his own name is that he would be like an owl which is always repeating its own name (*huthu*). This notion is exactly paralleled by the same notion found in the Philippine Islands, though there the bird the example of which is shunned is a raven instead of an owl ("Golden Bough," 3rd edition, vol. iii, p. 324).

who usually marry the daughter of another chief for at least one of their wives, it has been possible to obtain tables of greater interest and detail than could possibly be done in the case of the ordinary villager, though the marriages of the latter are governed by the same rules as are those of the former.

N.B.—The name of the person whose pedigree is recorded, and of his village and of his clan, is given as a heading.

The names of the clans into which the paternal line marries are given in italics against the name of the woman married, if it is known.

The names of the villages from which such wives come is given, if known, against the first male of that line recorded. Similarly the village of any male, if not noted, is the same as that recorded last in the paternal line.

Thus to find the clan of any person outside the direct paternal line, reference must be made to the female descendant who married into it. To find the village of such a female reference must be made to the first male ancestor recorded on her paternal side.

Names ending in *-li* are those of women, unless marked ♂.

Names having any other ending are those of men, unless marked ♀.

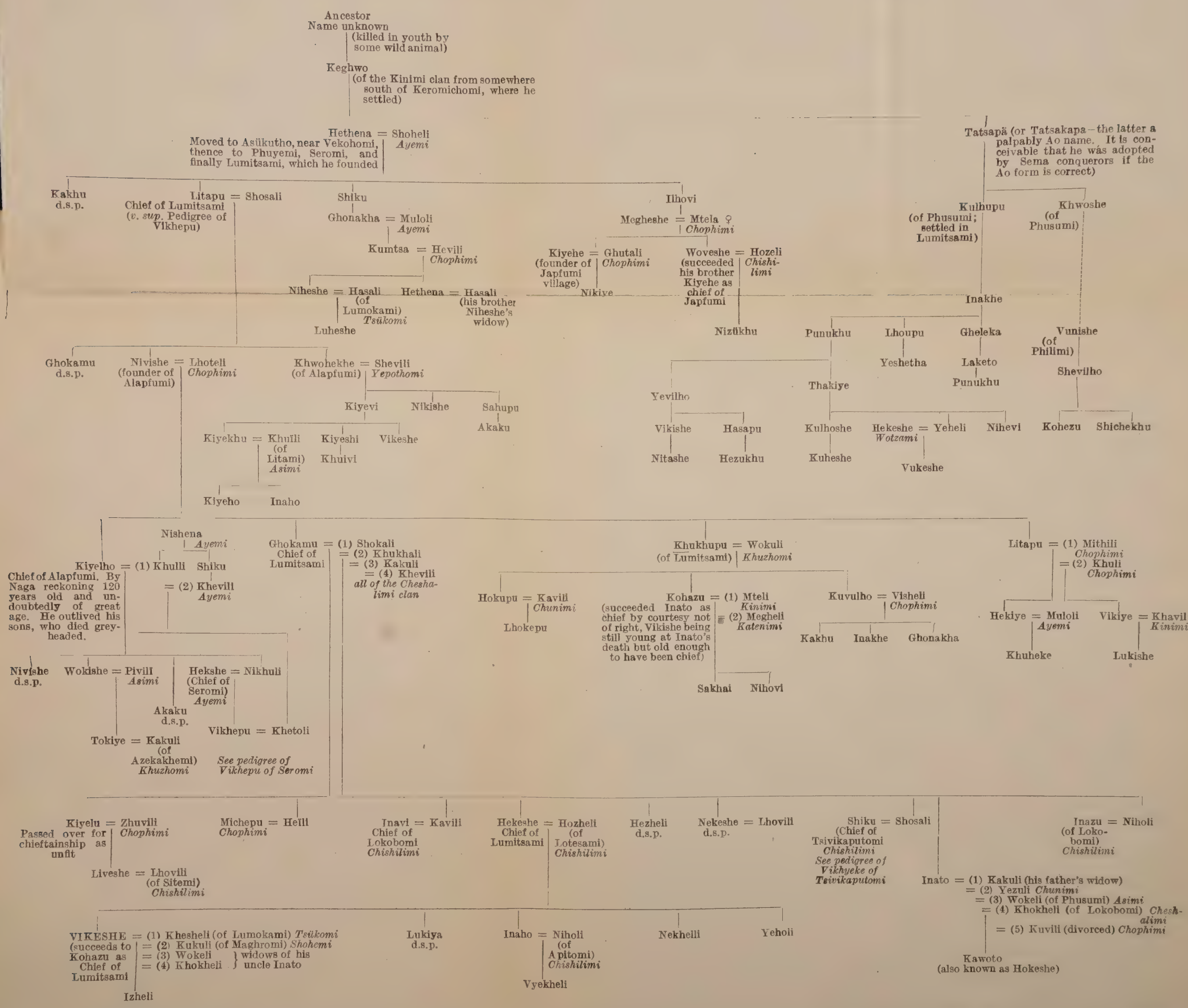
The names of the subsidiary wives of ancestors whose children do not reappear in the pedigree are not as a rule entered. Generally speaking, they are not known.

The Manor.

The term "manor" has been here used for what is really the unit of Sema society, the organised community, that is, with a chief at the head of it, but which is not necessarily by any means conterminous with either the population or land of a village. This "manor," if the term may be permitted, has had its origin in the system of colonisation by the son of a chief accompanied by a number of his father's dependants (*müghemi*), and also, perhaps, by any runaways, thieves, or broken men generally that he can pick up. The chief's son, when making a new village where the land taken up is either newly acquired as a result of successful hostilities or has never before been cultivated, reserves for himself all the land he fancies. Ordinarily he would leave over a certain amount of land which might be taken up as their own by the more prominent of his companions, and he might leave over land for acquisition even by *müghemi* whose entire dependence upon himself was beyond question, but in any case he would reserve the greater part of the land taken up for himself, any land then remaining over belonging normally to whoever first cleared it. The land he took up as his own the new chief would parcel out yearly to his

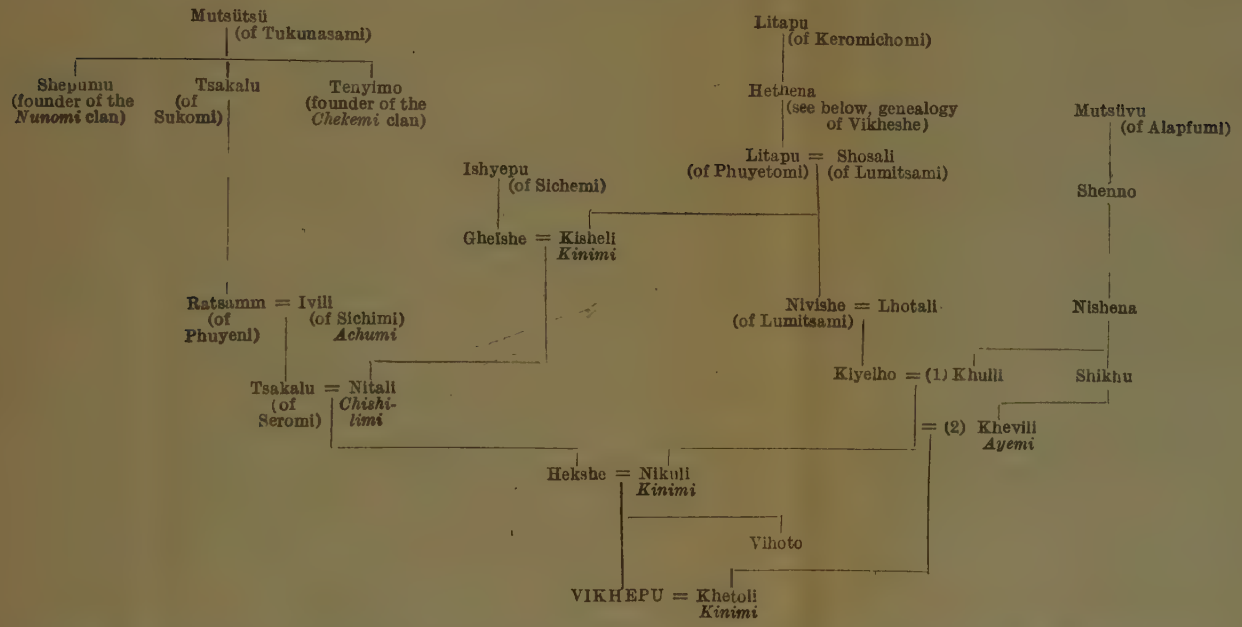
1.

Genealogy of VIKESHE of the Kinimi Clan, Chief of Lumitsami.



N.B.—Intermarriage with another and distant branch of the Kinimi clan takes place in two cases. Owing to the death of Inato when Vikeshe was still quite young, Kohazu was allowed to succeed as chief as a matter of courtesy, being the survivor of the elder generation most nearly to the direct line of succession. The eldest son of Ghokamu having been passed over as unfit, the right does not return to the grandson Liveshe. The marriage of Inato with his father's widow, of Vikeshe with two of his uncle's widows, and of Hethena with his brother's widow may be noted, also the marriage of Kiyelho with his wife's niece, Khulli and Khevili being, however, only two out of the sixteen wives in which Kiyelho has indulged in the course of his exceptionally long life; by most of them he had no children. The large number of marriages into the Chophimi clan probably indicates an admixture of Ao blood, though there is nothing whatever to suggest it in the resultant type. In the case of Kawoto alias Hokeshe, the former name was given him by his father, the latter by his father's wives, and both have stuck. The descent of the Kinimi in Philimi from Khwoshe is traditional and probably correct, but the names of Khwoshe's immediate descendants are not known. For the grandfather of Litapu son of Hethena the pedigree of Vikhepu (*v. supra*) gives another Litapu (of Keromichomi). There have probably been generations omitted in this table between Hethena I and Keghwo.

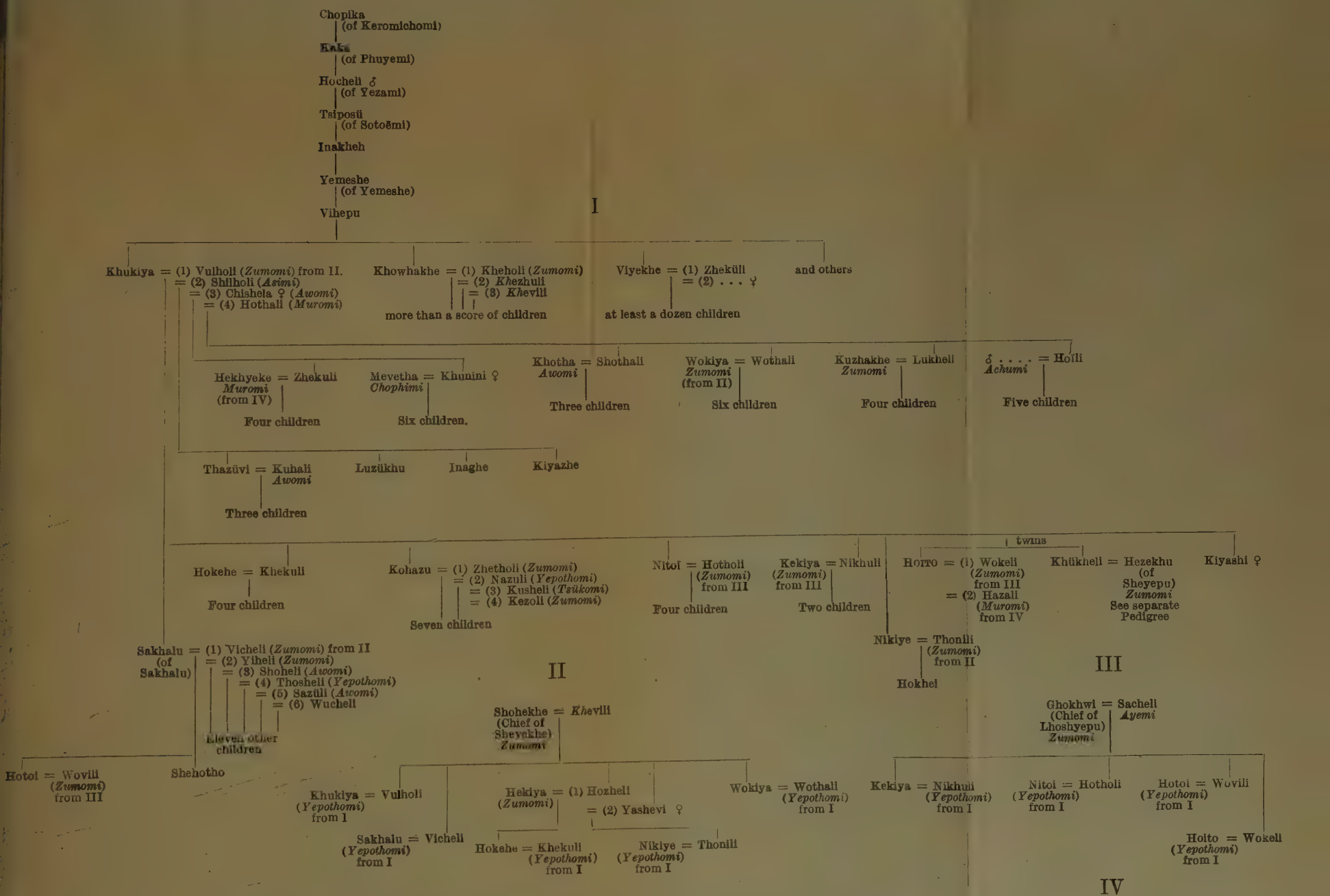
2. Pedigree of VIKHEPU, the Chief of the Ayemi Clan in Seromi Village.



N.B.—The Nunomi clan recorded here as splitting off from the Ayemi only four generations ago may and does intermarry with the Ayemi clan. The Chekemi clan, however, does not do so, though their ancestors are on precisely the same footing as those of the Nunomi. The reason given is that while the elder of the three brothers remained behind, the younger two maintained a close connection with one another, and their descendants are still regarded as one clan. Probably some generations have been forgotten, as four generations in either of the female lines recorded carry back only to Phuyetomi and Alapfumi, both of which were founded after Seromi. The Ayemi is much the most important of these three clans.

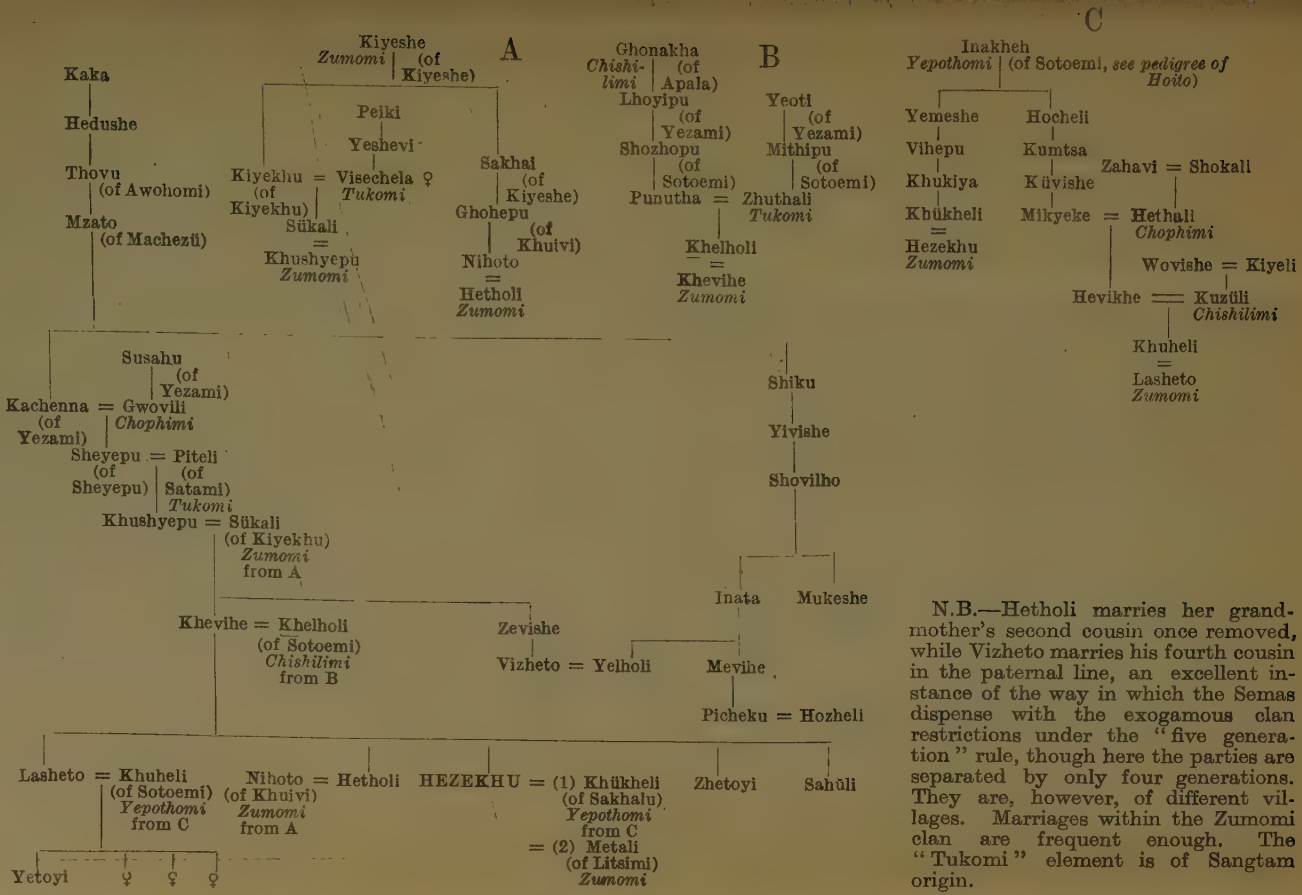
It is to be noticed that Hekshe marries his maternal grandmother's grand-niece, relationship on the female side being no obstacle to marriage, and still more that while Kiyelho marries as a second wife the niece of his first (probably during her lifetime), Vikhepu marries his mother's half-sister by the same father. Being outside the exogamous clan, the near relationship to his mother is no obstacle, though Vikhepu, who gives this pedigree, stated that a uterine sister of his mother, even by a different father, might not be married. Most Semas, however, recognise no such restriction. Probably it does not really exist, at any rate at the present day.

3. PEDIGREE OF HOITO, BROTHER OF THE CHIEF OF SAKHALU OF THE YEPOTHOMI CLAN.



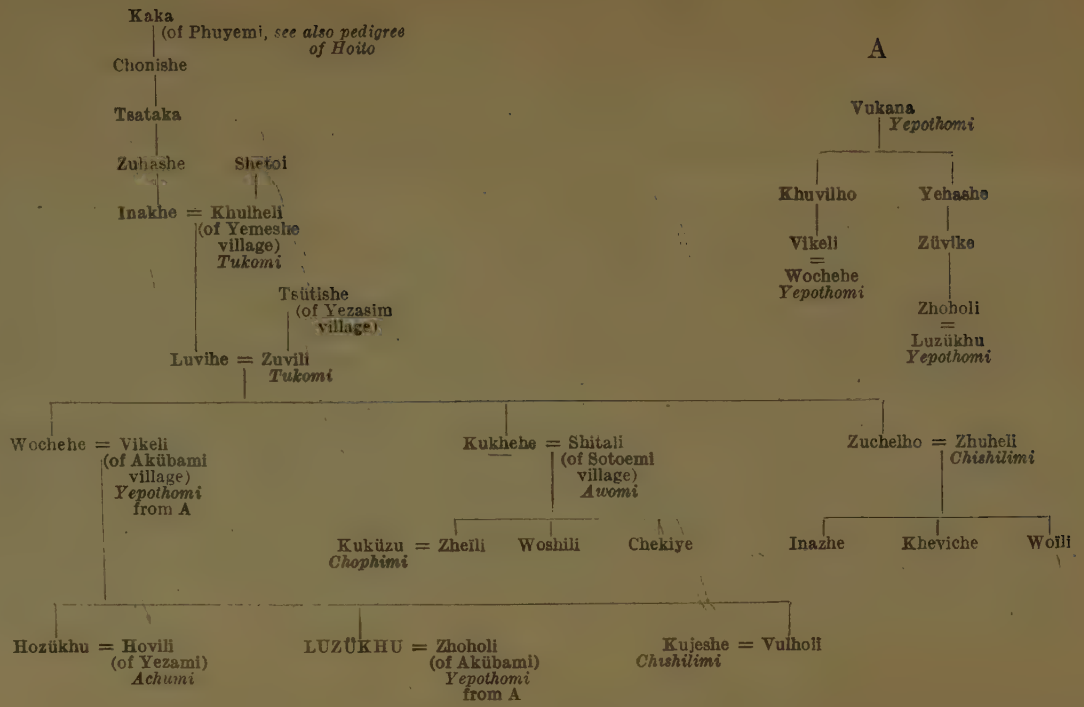
N.B.—In addition to the principal table I, three other tables (II, III, IV) are given to show the inter-relation of persons married by some of those in I. In these three tables only the necessary persons have been recorded to show the relationships.

It is to be noticed that Sakhalu marries his mother's sister, while his brother Nikiye marries her uterine niece and his paternal half-sister Wothali her step-mother's brother. Cross marriages between the brothers and sisters of Khukiya's family and Ghokhwi's and Tsivili's families are frequent. In the case of Ghokhwi's family, one son marries a daughter of Khukiya, two of whose sons and one grandson marry daughters of Ghokhwi, Hotoi marrying the sister of the wives of his uncles Nitoi and Hoito, who marries Hotoi's wife's younger sister. Hoito's marriage with Wokeli, however, never took place, as the girl died between the betrothal and the marriage. It is shown here, as the marriage was arranged. One case of twins occurs in the pedigree, which as a whole gives an excellent notion of the rate of increase among the richer men of the eastern Semas. All children who died in infancy have been omitted, yet Khukiya's grandchildren number at least 62, while Vihepu's great-grandchildren must number more than 200 and possibly twice that or more; moreover, there are obviously many more to come in the present generation.



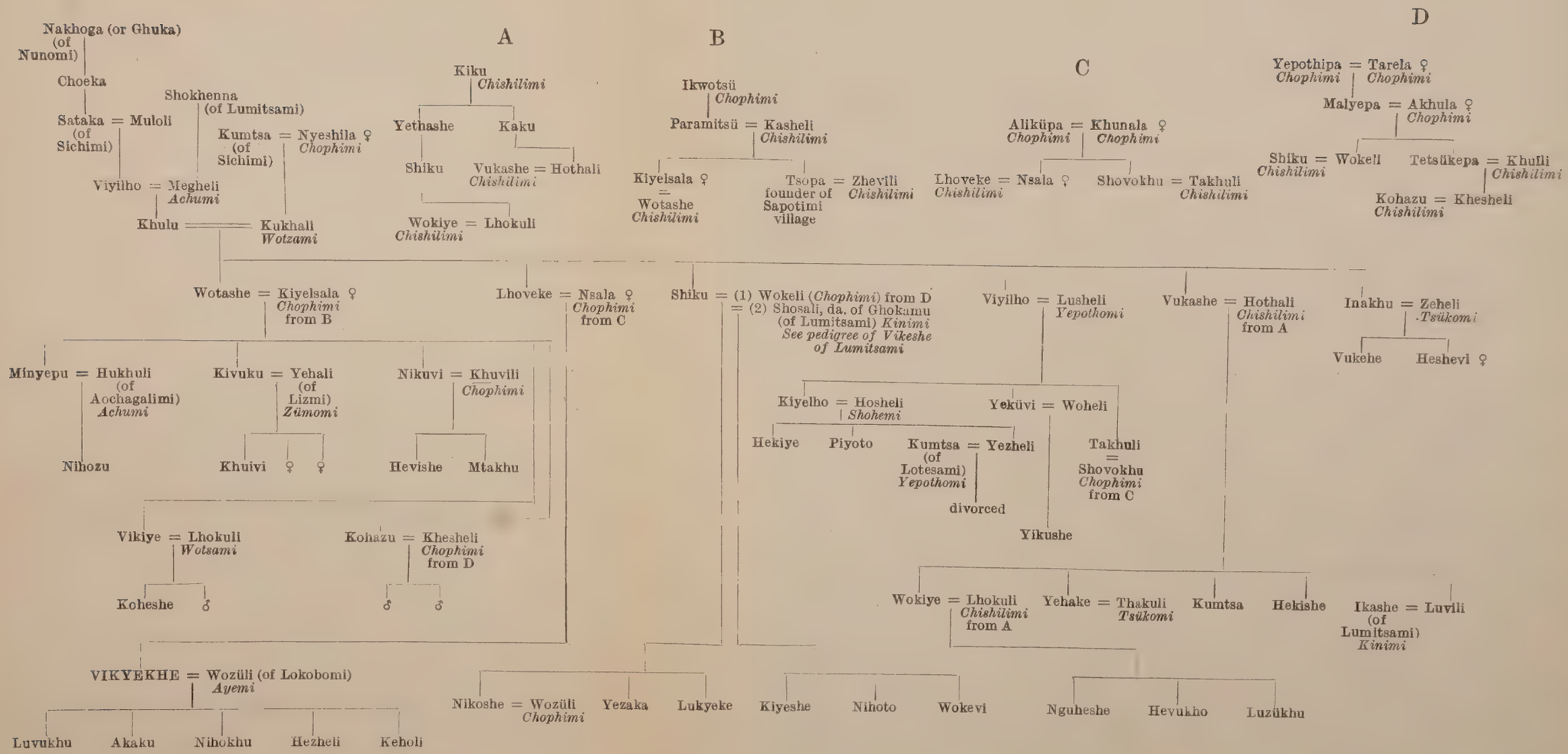
N.B.—Hetholi marries her grandmother's second cousin once removed, while Vizheto marries his fourth cousin in the paternal line, an excellent instance of the way in which the Semas dispense with the exogamous clan restrictions under the "five generation" rule, though here the parties are separated by only four generations. They are, however, of different villages. Marriages within the Zumomi clan are frequent enough. The "Tukomi" element is of Sangtam origin.

5. Pedigree of LUZÜKHU of the Yepothomi Clan, a son of one of the Chiefs of Baïmho.



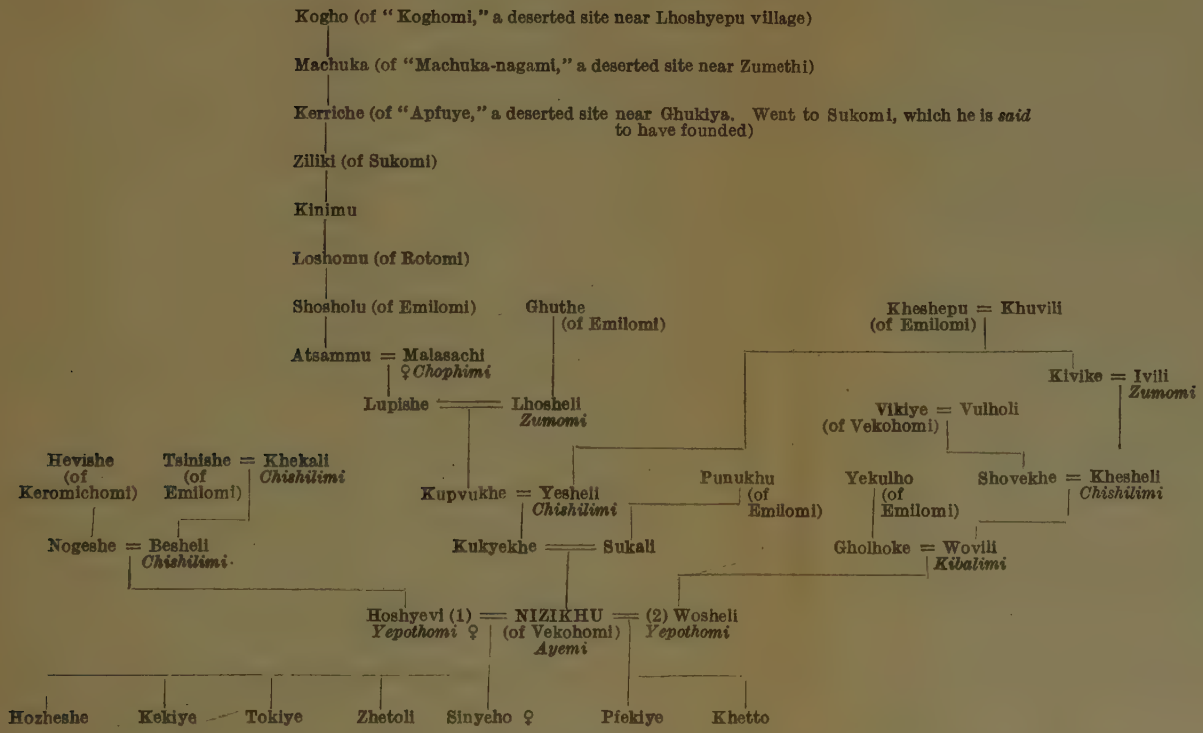
N. B.—Here Luzükhu marries his mother's second cousin (once removed) on the father's side, who is also of his own clan, but of a different village.

6. PEDIGREE OF VIKHYEKE, CHIEF OF TSIVIKAPUTOMI, CLAN CHISHILIMI.



N.B.—This pedigree is interesting as showing the large admixture of Ao blood represented by the members of the Chophimi clan. The earlier members of this clan given bear names which are most obviously Ao and intermarry as they would naturally if of different Ao clans, though the Chishilimi are also at the stage of intermarrying in the sixth generation of the main table. Among the names of the women the Chophimi names lose in the later generation the Ao form in *-la* and take the Sema form in *-li*, showing the way in which the Chophimi have gradually acquired the position of a recognised Sema clan.

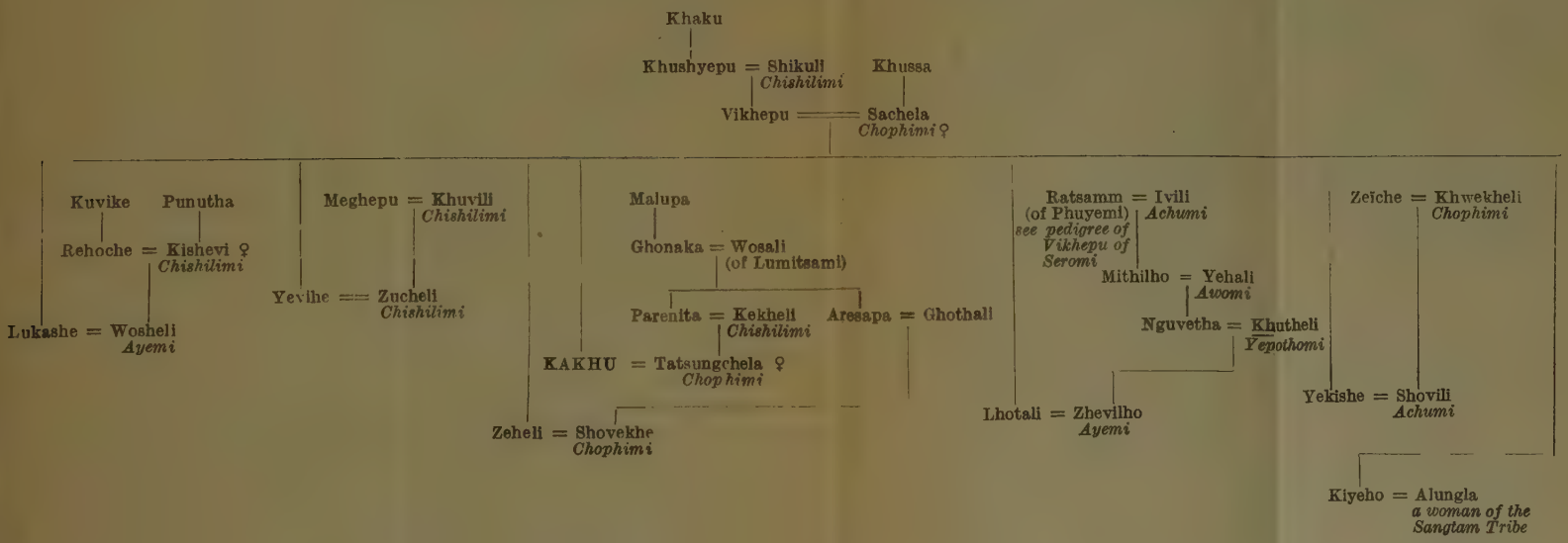
7. Pedigree of NIZIKHU, a Chief of Vekohomi (Clan Ayemi).


Kogho (of "Koghomi," a deserted site near Lhoshyepu village)
Machuka (of "Machuka-nagami," a deserted site near Zumethi)
Kerriche (of "Apfuye," a deserted site near Ghukiya. Went to Sukomi, which he is said to have founded)
Ziliki (of Sukomi)
Kinimu
Loshomu (of Rotomi)
Shosholu (of Emilomi)
Ghuthe (of Emilomi)
Kheshepu = Khuvili (of Emilomi)
Atsammu = Malasachi ♀Chophimi
Kivike = Ivili Zumomi
Lupishe = Lhosheli Zumomi
Vikiye = Vulholi (of Vekohomi)
Hevishe (of Keromichomi)
Tsinishe (of Emilomi) = Khekali Chishilimi
Punukhu (of Emilomi)
Yekulho (of Emilomi)
Shovekhe = Khesheli Chishilimi
Kupvukhe = Yesheli Chishilimi
Nogeshe = Besheli Chishilimi
Kukyekhe = Sukali
Gholhoke = Wovili Kibalimi
Hoshyevi (1) = NIZIKHU = (2) Wosheli
Yepothomi ♀ (of Vekohomi) Ayemi Yepothomi
Hozheshe
Kekiye
Tokiye
Zhetoli
Sinyeho ♀
Pfekiye
Khetto

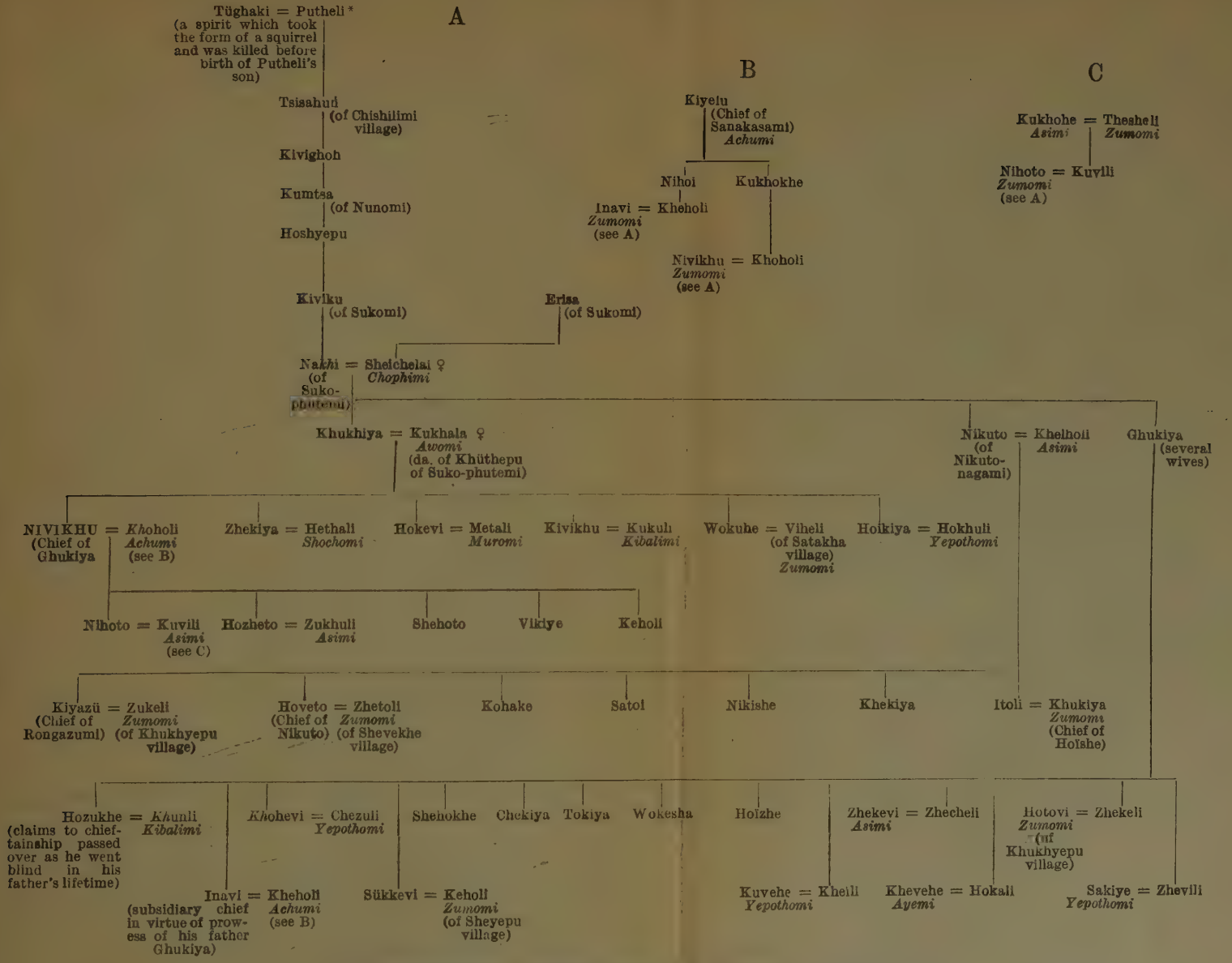
N.B.—This pedigree is one of a member of that element in Vekohomi which regards itself as Sema, but relates that it diverged from the original fount of the Semas at Tukahu Mountain and, after migrating north-east to the junction of the Tita and Tizu, turned north-west and rejoined the main body, after migrating through country only occupied by Semas at a comparatively recent date. In spite, therefore, of its belonging to the Ayemi clan, it may be probably assumed that this family is not of Sema but of Sangtam origin. This assumption is confirmed by the names of the persons from the eighth generation upwards, which are apparently not Sema, and by the sites occupied by the first three generations, which were in country occupied by the Sangtam tribe until driven out by the Sema villages which migrated west after their establishment at Sukomi, from which they drove out the Ao occupants.

It may be noticed that Nizikhu's paternal grandmother was the great aunt of the mother of his wife Wosheli. but the connection is twice over through the female line. Also that his wife Hoshyevi's maternal grandparents were of the same clan.

8. PEDIGREE OF KAKHU, HEADMAN OF SAPOTIMI (CLAN CHISHILIMI).



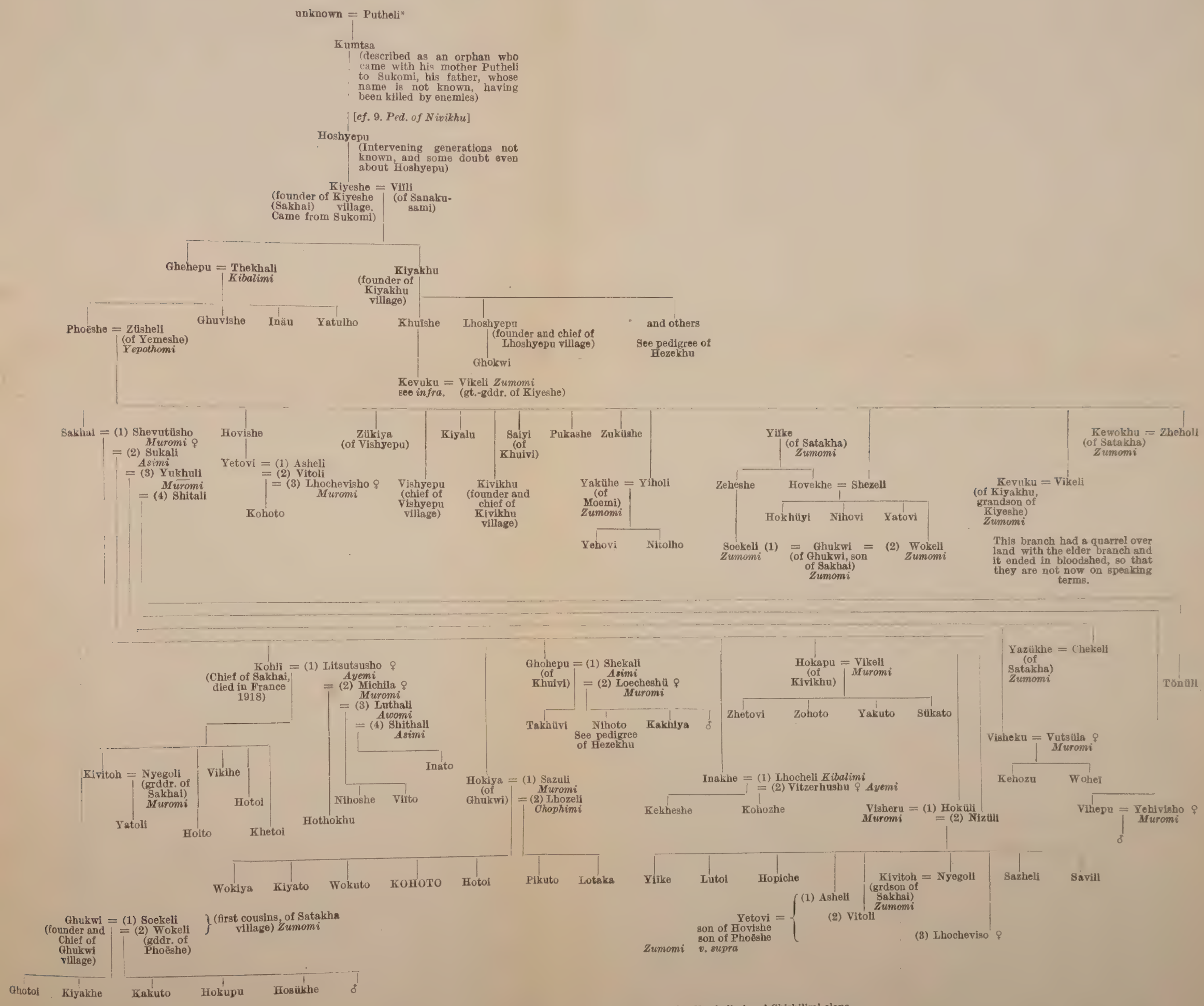
9. Pedigree of NIVIKHU, Chief of Ghukiya or Suko-phutemi, of the Zumomi Clan.



* By some accounts daughter of Kaghamo, ancestor of the Cheshalimi and Chishilimi clans.

N.B.—The marriages inside the Zumomi clan are frequent, but in each case they are between persons of different villages, and in accordance with the recognised custom (see page 130). Nivikhu and Inavi, who are first cousins, marry wives who are themselves also first cousins (see B). The husband of Putheli is given as *Tüghaki* (perhaps = "spirit-squirrel"). This is one of the innumerable versions given to account for the birth of Putheli's son by an unknown father. The Zumomi descent from Putheli is unimpeachable and is possibly a relic of the matrilineal system of reckoning descent. Nowadays, however, the clan is much concerned to find a paternal descent in that generation, and either unblushingly ascribes a husband—human or superhuman—to Putheli or indulges in a fantastic account of the origin of the tribe from some inanimate object.

Genealogy of KOHOTO, son of Hokiya, Subsidiary Chief of Ghukwi, of the Zumomi Clan.

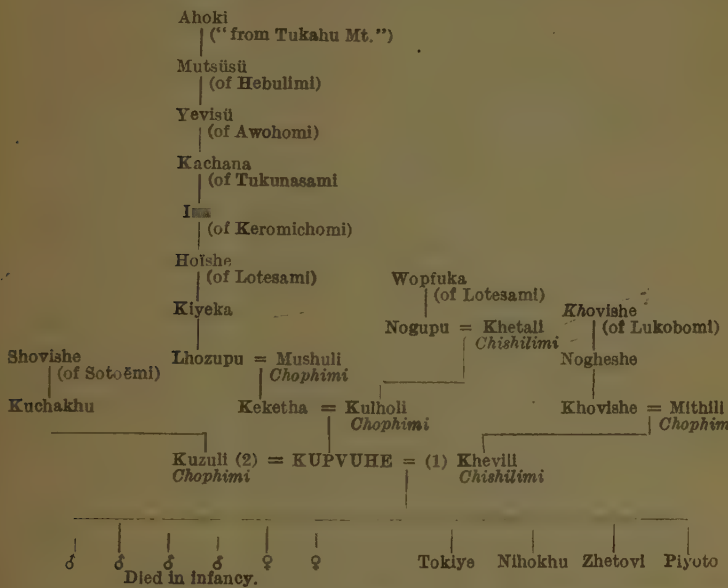


* Said to have been the daughter of Kaghamo, ancestor of the Cheshalimi and Chishilimi clans.

N.B.—The family of which this is a genealogy is one of the most important of the Zumomi families. It will be noticed that the account of the parentage of Putheli's child is different from that given by the Ghukiya family (Pedigree of *Nivikhu*) and less fantastic, barely glossing over the fact of Putheli's having had no husband. It makes Kumtsa the son of Putheli instead of inserting two generations in between, and is probably to be preferred to the other account, which inserts before Kumtsa two generations which, according to this genealogy, would come after him. The most interesting point in relationship is marriage between Kevuku and his second cousin in the paternal line, Vikeli, which is a very palpable breach of Sema custom, for though the parties are of different villages, even that would not condone a marriage between second cousins by paternal descent. Kivitoh, son of Kohïi, marries a first cousin, but her descent is through the mother and she is of a different clan. Ghukwi also marries his father's sister's daughter. The marriages between a man and several sisters of the same family are noticeable. Yetovi marries three sisters (at once), Visheru marries two, and Ghukwi marries a pair of cousins. The arrangement has obvious advantages. The names of the infant sons of Ghukwi and Vihepu were not given to me, because it was thought that as they were of *very* tender age some harm might come to them by reason of my writing down their names, possibly even by the mere mention of them. The intermarriages with other branches of the Zumomi clan are very frequent. The clan is a large one and has many branches. The other marriages are largely with the Muromi clan and point to a very strong admixture of Sangtam blood. Even the clan given as "Ayemi" is a Sangtam one, to judge by the names "Litsutsusho" and "Vitzerhushu," which are not Sema names. (See *supra*, pp. 124, 134.)

11.

Pedigree of KUPVUHE, now Headman of Shahapfumi, formerly of Lukobomi and originally of Lotesami (Clan Chishilimi).



N.B.—This pedigree is a fair indication of the length of time during which the Sema villages near the Dayang have been permanently occupied by Semas. It is likely that some generations have been omitted between Mutsüsü of Hebulimi and Hoïshe of Lotesami, but it is probably fairly safe to assume that the latter was the first of his family to settle down in the present Sema country for good. His descendant Kupvuhe himself moved to Lukobomi and again quite recently to a new site near the plains which was offered him by the local authorities. It may be noticed that his first wife was of the same clan as himself, though coming from a different village. The steady intermarriage between Chishilimi and Chophimi is characteristic, probably, of the neighbourhood of Lotesami, where the Chophimi seem to have been first heard of as a Sema clan and where the two predominant clans are still these two. That Kupvuhe should have again married into the Chophimi clan in his second wife is probably the merest chance, as there happened to be Chophimi families among the Sotoēmi settlers who went to Kupvuhe's new village from Sotoēmi in the Tizu valley.

müghemi to cultivate, reserving each year whatever land he wanted for the support of himself and his household. This society, then, in its simplest form consists of a chief and his *müghemi* ("churl" in its older sense is perhaps the nearest English translation), bound by a tie of land tenure. Reciprocal duties, however, exist apart from the mere holding of land. Besides having to provide his churls with land, the chief provides them with wives whenever they are unable to buy them themselves. He is also expected to feed them when they are unable to feed themselves, and to protect their interests generally, a duty which frequently includes the payment of fines for misdemeanours committed in or against other villages. In both these cases he has some expectation, usually distant enough, of ultimate repayment. The churl on his part does a sort of homage to his chief, calling him "father,"[1] and, if he receives a wife from him,[2] becomes a member or at any rate a quasi-member of his clan, and, subject to the same gennas and marriage restrictions, owes him a regular amount of work on his fields, in return for his protection, and a leg from any animal taken in the chase or slaughtered at ceremonial feasts. The tie created between the chief and his "orphans" is thus a sort of mixture of land tenure and adoption, and it follows almost inevitably from its nature that the *müghemi* is tied to his chief's village. The chief provides him with land [3] on the understanding that he will do work in the chief's fields and will help the chief in war. Under conditions of society in which the existence of each village depends on its ability to hold its own against head- (and land-)

[1] A chief adopting a man as his *müghemi* is said to make him an *anukeshiū* (= one who has become a son), while his *müghemi* is said on his part to make the chief an *apukeshiū* (= one who has become a father). The real meaning of the word *müghemi* is "orphan," and it is used in that sense literally as well as politically, and covers all villagers who are not chiefs. The particular retainers who have done "homage" and become *anukeshiū* are called collectively *anulikeshimi*.

[2] Sometimes a gift of paddy, a spear, and a dao serves instead of a wife to create the recipient an adopted member of the chief's exogamous clan. A man adopted into a chief's clan by provision with a wife is called *akaäkhemi* (or *akhekemi*) <*khe-* = to provide with a wife.

[3] A chief is bound to provide any one of his *müghemi* with land as soon as the said *müghemi* marries, but not before.

hunting neighbours on perhaps three or even all four sides, migrating from the village without the approval of the chief assumes the seriousness of a military desertion. Again, if a chief has fed his churl in times of famine, he has a right to expect that the man shall remain and repay him. If the man once leaves for the protection of another chief, recovery of anything due from him becomes a matter of the greatest difficulty. The acceptance, moreover, of any chief as a protector, and the formal addressing him as "father," creates, as has been stated, a quasi-blood-relationship, in virtue of which the chief becomes heir to his churl in preference to any heirs, however closely related, who are not likewise his *mŭghemi*.[1] Thus, if of three childless brothers called Kumtsa, Kakhu, and Shiku, Kumtsa and Kakhu called a chief named Hekshe "father," while Shiku did not, Kakhu would inherit Kumtsa's property in preference to Hekshe, but Hekshe would inherit in preference to Shiku. Of course if Kumtsa had a son he would take precedence of any other possible heirs, but he would, by birth, be Hekshe's *mŭghemi*, the relative positions of chief and churl being both hereditary. It follows therefore that if the chief's potential rights of inheritance (one is almost tempted to use the word "escheat") in respect of the property of any *mŭghemi* are to be of any value, he must be in a position to insist on the *mŭghemi's* remaining in the village, where he can without difficulty exercise his rights. The result is a generally recognised obligation on the part of the Sema *mŭghemi* to remain in the village of his chief, whether he likes it or not. As, however, it is not possible under the primitive condition of Sema life to so secure a man that he cannot run away and take his family with him, the chief in such cases confiscates all the property, both land and movable, of any deserter, excepting always the weapons he carries, the clothes he wears, and the utensils he can carry with him. In the case of a man with literally no possessions, the chief has to be content with his house (the materials of which have at any rate a nominal value) and his dhan-

[1] The term *mŭghemi* is here used vaguely, as often by Semas, to cover *anulikeshimi*, *akaäkhemi*, and other specific varieties.

pounding trestle or mortar. This has become a recognised custom, but it is obvious that these two possessions are the minimum which a man running away by stealth must leave behind him, as they are of the least portable description. They fall to the chief by right in the case of any *müghemi* leaving his village against the chief's will, whatever the circumstances, although in the case of administered villages the other rights of the chief are nowadays ordinarily compounded for by the payment of a small sum of money varying as a rule from five to fifteen rupees.

With regard to some of the reciprocal duties of the chief and his churl some further explanation is perhaps necessary. It has been said that when a chief provides his *müghemi* with a wife or with food he expects to be paid back ultimately. In the case of his providing a wife, the expectation of repayment is limited to his right to the guardianship of the daughters of any *müghemi* who dies without male heirs who are also *müghemi* of the same chief. Thus in the case taken above of three brothers Kumtsa, Kakhu, and Shiku, Hekshe would have no right of wardship over an only daughter of Kumtsa if Kakhu were alive or had a son, but he would have that right of wardship as against Shiku, who is not his *müghemi*. The right of guardianship entails, of course, the right to " eat " the marriage price of the ward. In the case of food, when a chief has specifically lent an " orphan " so many baskets of paddy, he is entitled to their repayment with interest at the customary rates, but realisation from persons who cannot pay has to be left to the next generation, and is naturally, therefore, often evaded entirely or satisfied only in part. The right of the chief to exact work on his fields exists in varying grades from village to village. Every grown male of the community over which he is chief, including his own brothers, is expected to do a certain amount, usually from four to sixteen days in the year, for one-half of which, in some villages, the chief must give a nominal payment of a little salt or a small piece of meat to each worker. In some villages where the chief has great personal ascendancy the amount of work which has to be done by his villagers is very much more than sixteen days'.

As might be expected, in the course of time all sorts of complicated relations arise within the village, particularly where the ability to throw off colonies has ceased. In this case the death of a chief invariably entails squabbles between his sons or brothers, or both. Besides the chief and his brothers, there are other relations who have land and *müghemi* of their own ; there are men who by trade or good fortune have become rich and bought land and likewise acquired *müghemi*, and a common man may call one man " father " by virtue of having been provided by him with a wife, call another " father " because he was given land to cultivate by him this year, call a third " father " because he was given land to cultivate by him last year, and in addition owe the regular two days a year in work to the chief. The rights of a chief over his *anulikeshimi* and the right to work from the *müghemi* in general are to a certain extent split up at his death between his married sons, or at any rate all sons who are capable of exercising them at the time and of exerting their right to do so, for the unmarried sons may share, though they do not necessarily do so. The eldest son may become chief if he has not already made a village of his own, but more often the dead chief is succeeded in that office by a younger brother, whose secondary place is taken by the dead chief's son—assuming, that is, that the dead chief was not himself the successor of an elder brother. The new chief now gets the same amount of free labour that was enjoyed by his elder brother, while the late chief's son gets whatever share his father used to allow to his uncle. On the death of the new chief he is succeeded in the office by his nephew (the son of his elder brother), and the secondary place now vacated by the latter should probably, in strict custom, go to the latter's brother, but in point of fact it seems now and then to go to his uncle's son, or occasionally even to some more distant cousin, so that one sometimes finds in this way a dual chieftainship growing up. The generally accepted rule, however, is that the eldest of the original chief's sons who remains in the village ultimately succeeds his father and is again ultimately succeeded by his own son, the interludes

of brothers and uncles being merely temporary, and not affecting the general succession.[1] While, however, the chief's labour dues are for the most part divided between the chief and his brother or nephew, there is no very strict rule governing their distribution, and a certain amount is often found given to distant relatives, descendants of the original chief's brothers, or of a subordinate leader who assisted him in founding the village. The practice in this respect varies somewhat from village to village, and persons are often found with well-recognised rights to a few days' labour in their fields who are no longer, or who never were, recognised as having any claim on the chieftainship. One source of this condition is to be found in the exclusion from the chieftainship of a man whose hereditary claim is incontestable but whose personal unfitness disqualifies him. Such a man, though passed over for the chieftainship, may be given the free labour, or rather part of it, which he would ordinarily have obtained, and transmits the rights to his descendants, though the chieftainship is retained by another branch of the family. If an elder brother settle in a village founded by a younger brother, the latter, of course, is chief to the entire exclusion of the former. Indeed a son may take precedence of his father, as in the case of Khukiya, who lived in Sakhalu subject to his own son.

In some villages the right to free labour from the village at large has perhaps either never existed or has ceased to exist. In Philimi and Rotomi the right to free labour from the whole village did not exist, though of recent years the chiefs of Philimi have insisted on four days' labour, and in some of the other Dayang valley villages the labour on the chief's fields is not done, either because he is not regarded as entitled to it, or because he has not the strength of character to enforce it. In Phusumi, for instance, the present chief has the utmost difficulty in obtaining labour

[1] In one small village, Azekakemi, the late chief Lohatha having died without male heirs of his own family, the office has devolved *faute de mieux* on one of his *akaäkhemi*, but this is quite an exceptional case, and the man is not recognised as a genuine chief. There is in point of fact a son of Lohatha's, but he is an idiot, and the other relations have become poor and *müghemi* of other men.

to which he is admittedly entitled, and sometimes compounds for it by accepting a purely nominal sum to save his face. In this village, however, the family of the chief has degenerated considerably below the usual standard, for in most Sema villages the chieftain families form an aristocracy in the literal sense of the word, being (possibly owing to better nourishment and the habit of command) physically, morally, and intellectually the best of the community.

A chief's relations to his " orphans " are more or less of a private or personal nature, but his duties as chief of a village or part of a village comprise public functions as well. He has to direct the village in war, nominally at any rate, and to decide, either by himself or in consultation with his elders (*chochomi*), all questions of the relations between his own and neighbouring villages. The extent to which he would consult his elders would depend almost entirely on the personal character of the chief himself. In the settlement of disputes within the village, the elders come into greater prominence, as the opinion of the old men is often necessary to decide points both of fact and custom. Another duty of the chief, naturally arising out of his position as " lord of the manor," is to decide what land is to be cultivated in each successive year. In all Naga villages which do not practise terraced cultivation, it is for many reasons the practice of the village to cultivate together. Patches of jhum surrounded by jungle are far more open to the depredations of birds and wild animals, and reciprocal help in cultivation is less easily given. In villages which are liable to head-hunting raids, joint cultivation is the only method which offers any safety to the individuals working in the fields. It is the chief's business to turn out the village in case of danger from fire or any other pressing need, to entertain distinguished strangers, and to take the lead generally in all social matters. It is also his business to give warning of most gennas[1] in the customary formula and to issue the orders of the day on the morning of any day

[1] The Sage genna is proclaimed by the *awou*. It has to be proclaimed in special terms calculated to confuse the evil spirit as to the date on which it is to be held.

on which the village is to act as a whole. A man who cannot give warning of gennas in the proper manner never takes the position of chief. In this particular duty the chief is performing an office which in the Angami tribe is performed by the Kemovo, who is a more or less hereditary priest, but is not a secular chief. Among the Semas the duties performed by the Angami *Kemovo* appear to be more or less split between the chief (*akekāo*) and the priestly official called *awōu*, the chief assuming the general direction of the ceremony, while the *awou* performs ceremonial acts that may be necessary. That the secular chief has in this direction tended to oust the priestly *awou* from what was the latter's domain is perhaps to be inferred from the fact that, like the *Kemovo's* house in an Angami village, the *awou's* house in a new Sema village is always built first, the chief's being the second to be built. The *awou*, too, is entitled to one day's free labour for his services in first sowing and one day's free labour for his services in first reaping. These two days' work are called *atiakuzhu* and *achushuzhu* respectively, and are almost invariably acquired by the chief from the *awou* for a small or nominal payment, and are sometimes given free to the chief by the *awou*. The *awou*, however, is not hereditary, whereas the Angami *Kemovo* is usually hereditary like the Sema chief.

The Village.

Although the chief may be regarded as the most important element in the polity of his village, there are others who cannot be ignored. The *chochomi* have been already mentioned. The word *chochomi*[1] means in the first place a man who is *pre-eminent*, and hence one of those whom the chief employs to help him in managing public affairs. He serves as a sort of herald, whom the chief sends on errands to other villages, and as a deputy to manage the affairs of his own when the chief is elsewhere or otherwise employed. Inside the village, however, the chief normally finds it convenient to have a number of *chochomi*. It is to his interest to keep the village contented, and as there are normally persons belonging to a number of different clans

[1] *Chochomi* <root *cho-* = "stick out" (vertically); *cf. Chophimi*—derivation ascribed to it (Pt. VI, p. 351).

in a village who are not entirely without jealousy of one another, the chief summons the most prominent member of each clan to help in settling disputes, to eat a share of animals given him as presents or tribute or by way of a fine for a transgression of civil or religious custom, to learn the opinion of the community on any particular point, and generally to take a part in any matter which affects the whole community. Of course the position and number of *chochomi* of this sort are very variable indeed. In some villages where the chief is very powerful they will be negligible or even non-existent. In other villages they might be powerful enough to control the chief entirely, though this is rare. They are nominated by the chief, but unless he is a very strong man he cannot, of course, in practice ignore the men whose position qualifies them for selection, and there are few Sema villages so large but that there can be little doubt as to who ought to be selected. Generally speaking, however, *chochomi* take only a very secondary place in the polity of the village. It would perhaps be more correct to say a third place (and a poor third at that), as there are also the *kekámi* to be reckoned with. These are the chief's relations, men of his family, cousins and so forth, who, though they have no very recognised status, often have much influence and are usually able (and often ready) to create and lead an opposition party. Their principal occupation seems to be quarrelling among themselves over questions of priority. The chief himself is, of course, a *kekami*, the word being applied to those who are of a chief's family, as opposed to *müghemi*, noble as opposed to common, but the status of *kekami* is easily lost by a man becoming poor and having to adopt a protector, or by migration to another village, where the relations of the *kekami* in question are of no importance. On the other hand, it is not easy to acquire, and mere wealth is not enough, though by founding a new village, as chief thereof, a man, whatever he was before, becomes *ipso facto* a *kekami* and the *akekao* of that village. *Kekami* probably = one who binds <*ka-* = to bind, prevent.

Aluzhi. Another important factor in village life is that of the

"gangs," *aluzhi* (probably < *alu*, field, *azhu*, labourer). These are composed of both sexes in the case of the unmarried and are pretty well self-component. They nominate their own commander (*athōu*), who decides what fields are to be cultivated each day by his gang, and who is usually the biggest bully in it. They consist, generally speaking, of persons of about the same age, and though each gang can eject a member at will, normally a person enters a gang as soon as he is old enough to be left behind in the village to his own devices when his mother goes to work, and belongs to it or to some other gang for the rest of his life. He ceases, however, to work with it in the fields as soon as, but only for as long as, he has sons old enough to go to work with their own gangs; only when he is so old that he cannot go to work in the fields does he practically cease to be a member of his gang, for if he has no son or if his son dies he goes back to gang work as a member of his old gang. The same rule applies to women, who, however, leave their original gangs on being married and go to gangs composed of married women and widows only. Apart from this provision, which entails the virtual separation of the sexes after marriage, the composition of a gang depends almost entirely on age, contemporary children, associated into groups of playfellows, being their ordinary basis. Where clan feeling runs high it may happen, of course, that the gangs are composed largely of members of one clan, but ordinarily they are quite indiscriminate in this respect. They are also democratic, and the chief's son, like everyone else, must do his work and obey the leader of his gang. The latter maintains discipline by the ejection of the contumacious, but it frequently happens that quarrels break up the gang entirely, when the component members join other gangs.

In the independent villages where the children cannot be taken to the fields the respective gangs spend much of their time in fighting with one another, and where factions in the village coincide with the composition of gangs, this fighting is undoubtedly very rough, indeed it is probably that in any case, and a most suitable education for the Naga warrior.

In administered villages the children, less fortunate, usually have to work instead of fight and play, and are taken to the fields with their parents.[1] Later on, when old enough, they go to work in the gangs to which they have already attached themselves, and it is really upon these gangs that the whole cultivation of the village depends. Every member of the village is entitled to have his fields cultivated by them, and though, of course, they do not do the entire work necessary, it would be practically impossible for a man to cultivate more than a very small patch of ground without their help. He does not, however, expect to get this help absolutely gratis. When a gang goes to his fields he is expected to give them liquor and rice. Not very much of either is expected from poor men, but the rich are expected to be liberal and often to give meat as well as rice, and plenty of liquor. If they appear stingy, the gang indulges in very free criticism. In the case of a man who is so poor that he can really give the gang nothing, the commander tells off a certain proportion of the gang, as much as he thinks necessary or desirable, to go and do the work.

An almost essential feature of the *aluzhi* system is the singing which accompanies it. The gangs work in a long line, singing as they work, and each gang has, or at any rate ought to have, three leaders of song who know the whole art of singing and can teach and lead the rest. There are songs particularly appropriate to each phase of cultivation, though that does not preclude their being sung at other times as well, nor does it preclude the singing of songs that have nothing whatever to do not only with the work in hand but with agriculture at all. The singing is possibly regarded as frightening away malignant spirits as well as an aid to labour, and the same idea may have given rise to the practice of "Ho-ho-ing" when on the march and the shouts and yells emitted as a village is approached or left.

Migration

When a new village is to be made, the parent village insists on the colonists' leaving the village by an indirect path avoiding the main village path at the point where it

[1] There seems to be some probability of this circumstance considerably affecting the character of the average Sema in the coming generation.

leaves the village. Beyond the precincts of the village, and preferably after crossing water, the colonists sacrifice a pig, while the inhabitants remaining in the village do the same at the village gate on the following day. The colonists as they go sprinkle liquor along their path, while those who remain do so along the regular village path. The object of this is to detain in the village the spirit or spirits which properly belong to it, while the colonists take with them their own spirits to the village they are founding. On reaching the site selected they will again sacrifice a pig before occupation, and into the well they must pour water stolen from the well of some village which is rich and prosperous. Young men of the old village may not eat in the new village till some old man of the old village has taken food in it.

Property.

The customs that govern the holding and transfer of property among the Semas have to some extent been dealt with already, though indirectly, under the head of "The Manor," but certain points have been left untouched. Property as it exists among the Semas may roughly be divided into land, movables, and debts.

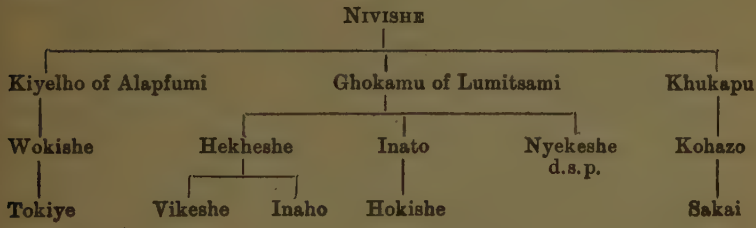
First, as regards land. Land that is the common land of a village, clan, or family cannot, of course, be sold by an individual, nor can an individual sell his share in any land. The land must first be so divided between the owners that the actual land owned by the one who wishes to part with his share can be specified, after which he is at liberty to dispose of it as it seems good to him. There is, however, a very strong prejudice against the sale of even privately owned land to members of another village, and this is recognised in practice in the administered villages by an order forbidding any sale of land from one village to another without previous sanction. It may be added that land questions in the Sema country are all very highly coloured by the extreme scarcity of land and the rapidly increasing inability of the population to support themselves on the land at their disposal, no other suitable means of livelihood existing. Land held in common by the whole community, though it probably still exists in one or two of the most eastern Sema villages, has

long ceased to exist, at any rate in any appreciable quantity, and probably entirely, in the administered part of the Sema country. All land is now privately owned,[1] though, as a man's land may not be divided by his sons, but must await the second generation for division, much land is of necessity owned jointly by brothers or even cousins, the eldest allotting the land for yearly cultivation. It cannot pass to women by inheritance or gift, and in the case of a woman purchasing land with her own money it passes to her male heirs, sons if she has them, or, if not, her brothers or her father's male relations. Land is, however, often given as part of the purchase money for a wife to the girl's father. Land passing by inheritance ordinarily goes first of all to the sons of the deceased, who enjoy it in common, land for cultivation being regularly allotted by the eldest, who does not fail to choose the best plot of each year's "jhum" for himself. It is genna for a man's sons to divide his land. In the following generation, however, his land may be, and usually is, divided by the grandsons. The shares are nominally equal between the families of the different sons, but the eldest son's family (and within it his eldest son again) takes the best share. As, however, the proposal for division is regarded as liable to entail unpleasant consequences on the proposer in the shape of an early death, the grandson who first suggests division is entitled to take one first-class field (one man's cultivation for one year) as the

[1] There is a dictum to which effect has been sometimes given maintaining that private property in "jhum" land (as opposed to irrigated land) is not recognised by Government, at any rate as against Government. This dictum probably owes its origin to a theory that "jhum" land is normally land held by the village community and not by individuals, and is cultivated spasmodically and erratically, and is of small value to its owners, as indicating intermittent and sporadic cultivation over a large area of country. If this is so the theory is unfortunate, being quite ill-founded as regards most Naga tribes, for almost all the land in the Naga Hills District is now privately owned, and has long been subject of sales, gifts, marriage settlements, and even mortgages of a sort, and has all the properties of plots of irrigated land, the only difference being that "jhum" land must lie fallow for a period of years if it is to be successfully cultivated. A great deal of existing "jhum" land is incapable of irrigation, and, in addition to its existing shortcomings, would be made the subject of a further disability if this dictum were acted upon.

price of his proposal, and he must sacrifice a pig to avert the consequences of his rash act.

Should there be no sons, real or adopted, a man's land goes on his decease to his brothers, failing them to his first cousins (male, on his father's side), failing them to second cousins, and so forth. In the case of a man dying without children and owning only a share of common land, the division of the land in the next generation is not directly affected, as the deceased's father's grandsons divide all the common land that has come down to their generation according to the number of sons who have left grandsons in the usual way. Private land, however, that he had bought himself would pass to his brothers, who could divide it at once, there being no prohibition on this immediate division of land inherited from a brother or cousin. The matter is probably best illustrated by a genealogical table :—



Here Nivishe's land cannot be divided among his three sons. In his next generation it is divided equally (or nominally so) between the three families descended from him, so that one share goes to Wokishe, one to Kohazo, while Ghokamu's sons divide the third between them. Should division be postponed to the third generation, Vikeshe, Inaho, and Hokishe will still only get a third share between them. Nyekeshe, however, dies without children, so his land, however acquired, will go to Hekheshe and Inato in common, and may be equally divided either by them or in the next generation by Vikeshe, Inaho, and Hokishe, as Nyekeshe is regarded as equally the uncle of all three of them and would be called *apo*, "father," by them. But while these three take equal shares of land inherited from

their uncle Nyekeshe, they do not share alike in land inherited from Ghokamu, as half goes to Hekheshe's children and half to Inato's. Hokishe cannot, of course, share with his two first cousins in land bought by Hekheshe. Nor can Hekheshe's sons claim any share, if Hokishe lives, to land bought by Inato. Land once divided is treated as private land, just as though it had been bought, but in a case like this one taken as an example it is more likely that family lands would not be divided even in the second generation, as the descendants are few in number. In point of fact, of the persons named in the table,[1] Kiyelho is still alive, a reputed centenarian, though his two brothers and his son are long dead, Kohazo only of the second generation being still living, and the third generation having wives and children of their own, the result of Kiyelho's unconscionable longevity having been to postpone up to date the formal division of Nivishe's land, though in practice the land is divided between the heirs, who cultivate different areas and have boundary disputes like separate landowners.

Movable property follows, as far as inheritance is concerned, exactly the same law as land, subject to two exceptions. First of all it is divided on the owner's decease by his sons, the eldest taking something extra, and need never wait until the next generation, though the division is postponed till the death of the widow if the latter marry one of her late husband's heirs. In the second place, women are allowed to share up to a certain point. Daughters are allowed a share of grace only, and if given anything the gift is usually limited to ornaments. Widows can only share in ornaments, fowls (*no* other livestock), and paddy as a general rule, but they are entitled to a one-third share of the sum of these three sorts of property left by their late husband. A single wife gets a third of the whole. If there is more than one wife this third is divided between them. The widow's share is, however, dependent on her good behaviour between the death of her husband and the

[1] The table is not complete—Nivishe had a fourth son, Litapu, who had a son Vikiye still alive. Kohazo has a brother Kuvulho. See genealogy of Vikeshe. The family was perhaps the most distinguished in the Sema country, largely on Inato's account.

division of his movable property, a period which may last for many months, though it is more often probably a matter of weeks or even days. When Inato, the late chief of Lumitsami, died, he gave orders on his death-bed that unless his wives married his nephew Vikeshe or some other of his heirs they should remain in his house and lament his memory for three whole years, and he made their shares in his property dependent on their doing so.[1] The postponement of division of property for a share after a man's death is probably dictated not only by sense of decency, but also by a desire to let the dead man's spirit go peaceably away first. The soul of the dead is believed to wait about in the house for some time after death. The writer was once accommodated in a Sema village in a temporarily unoccupied house; the weather was warm, and in all innocence he pulled apart the end wall to let in air. The owner, who was staying with his relations in another house and had temporarily left the village, was much aggrieved, as it had caused the soul of his wife, who had died a few days before, to leave the house and frightened her away before her time.

In movables other than those mentioned women are said to be unable, according to strict custom, to share. The writer has known, however, of at least one case in which cash was left by a dying man to his wives, and in which the bequest was honoured, as well as another bequest of a valuable armlet to a person totally unconnected with the family. It is not, however, necessarily incumbent on a man's heirs to honour his dying wishes, and if he gives directions as to the disposal of his property which are contrary to custom, the heirs can disregard them at pleasure, even though there is no doubt as to the actual directions having been given. But as a general rule a man, even on his death-bed, does not give bequests which are contrary to custom, and in any case asks his heirs to give of their generosity whatever he wishes to bequeath to a person not entitled to receive it. It is possible that a dying man, however, may promise all sorts of things to his wives or others simply because of their importunity, but promises of this sort are not made before the heirs and no attention

[1] As far as I remember his directions were not too literally obeyed.

is paid to them at all by them, and indeed it is likely that in such cases they were never intended to pay any.

With regard to the sale of movable property, there is a point of Sema custom which is of some importance. A man obtaining any article by purchase or barter is allowed three days in which to discover any blemish. The article may be returned to the original owner and the price of it recovered, provided that the purchaser returns it within three days of acquiring it. Sometimes a longer period is allowed, but only by specific agreement when the article changes hands. The following cases in point occur to the writer: that of a dao with a concealed crack, a cracked spear-shaft, an entire piglet (sold as castrated), a diseased chicken, an ill-tempered dog. In one of the latter cases the dog bit its new owner so badly that he let it go and it ran away, so that the owner was unable to return it, and claimed a return of the purchase money in vain.

Debt.

Debts, generally speaking, are treated like movable property, but should a question of the transfer of a debt arise, no transfer of debt or credit is recognised unless both parties to the debt are present, as well as both parties to the transfer—an obviously necessary provision among a people who do not possess the art of writing.[1] For purposes of inheritance, debts, whether due to or from the deceased, are treated as cash. The male heirs get the benefit in the former case and the disability in the latter, as it is absolutely incumbent on a man's heirs to pay his debts. And though an attempt to avoid the obligation of paying debts is sometimes made by refusing to accept the benefits as well as the disabilities of heirship, a refusal of this sort is not regarded as a valid excuse for the next heir not paying the dead man's creditors. Attempts of this sort are naturally made when the dead man's liabilities exceed his assets. The law of borrowing among the Semas would at first sight make them appear a most usurious tribe. A loan of cash or of paddy—loans are usually given in paddy—must be repaid in the

[1] A tally of loans is kept by stringing sword-beans (*alau*), one bean for three 'kangs' of paddy lent, *i.e.*, five due next year, each such item being called *àzhě*.

following year plus 100 per cent. by way of interest. If the principal is repaid then, the interest remains as it is and does not increase, however much delayed payment may be, but if the principal is left unpaid or only paid in part, the whole sum outstanding redoubles itself during the following year and so goes on at 100 per cent. compound interest till the whole of the principal is paid off, at which point the outstanding sum becomes stationary. Under this system a small debt rapidly assumes impossible proportions, and while the Semas were independent large claims, consisting mostly of interest, were probably compounded for, the creditor gladly forgoing part of his rights in order to get the remainder. When, however, administration came, the owners of bad debts took them all to the courts and wanted their full pound of customary flesh. The trouble that was in this led to the institution of a new law of debt among the northern Semas, for which Inato, chief of Lumitsami, and Sema interpreter at Mokokchung, was mainly responsible. This new custom forbade any increase by interest after the second year, so that the principal is doubled the first, the whole sum outstanding redoubles the next year (provided the principal has not been repaid in full), and there it stops. This system, which applies to both cash and grain, was probably taken from the Lhota system, in which increase likewise stops at the end of the second year. Inato might perhaps have gone one better still and followed the custom always in vogue in several of the Sema villages in the Dayang valley, in which a debt doubles the first year and then remains stationary, but perhaps it would have been too much to ask of a man who was himself owed very considerable sums of money. In any case, all Semas, whether of the Tita, Tizu, or Dayang valleys, recognise a definite and uniform custom of remission on debt paid off in full. This remission is 10 per cent. of the whole payment due. Thus a man borrowing 10 kangs of paddy in 1915 and repaying none in 1916 has to pay 40 in 1917. If he pays this 40 in full, 4 kangs are remitted and 36 only taken. If, however, he only pays half, 20 kangs that is, there is no remission, and he owes 20 still. Should he pay up the remaining

20 in full the following year he will be allowed a discount of 2 kangs and pay only 18.

No right to this remission is recognised on broken tens, at any rate up to 6, though often given on broken tens of more than 6. Thus from a man paying up a debt of 16 kangs not less than 15 would be accepted, one being discounted on the first 10 only, but 15 kangs would also probably be accepted in lieu of 17, 2 kangs being remitted.

Debts of animals are regulated by measurements. If a man borrows a mithan, the lender measures the horns and the girth behind the shoulder. In repaying, the debtor is expected to produce an animal slightly longer in horn and greater in girth, though from a really poor man one which was of equal size would ordinarily be accepted. Other animals are measured by girth only.

For purposes of inheritance, debts count as cash. The male heirs take all the credit as well as the liabilities of the dead man. The writer has, however, known one case in which a dying man made over part of the sums due to him to his wives.

Adoption. The question of the inheritance of property cannot be passed over without mention of adoption. The form of adoption as it exists between a chief and his "orphan" has already been described. The adopted places himself under the adopter's protection and calls him father, and the adopter becomes heir to the assets (and liabilities also) of the adopted should the latter die without male heirs standing in the same relation as he did to his adopter. This form of adoption is called *anu-shi*, which means "son-making." The actual relation, however, which it sets up between the two parties approaches far less nearly to those of a father and his real son than those created by the form of adoption perversely called *anguli-shīshī*, which literally means "making relations-in-law" or perhaps "attempting to make relations-in-law." Probably it is an abbreviated phrase to express what it really is, which is making a man an absolute member of the family of his relations-in-law. This procedure can be done at the expense of the formal gift of one cow presented by a son-in-law to his father-in-law,

provided, of course, that the father-in-law desires to make the adoption, for the adopted son-in-law now becomes a son and an absolute member of his adoptive parent's clan and family and entitled to all the rights of a son, sharing with other and genuine sons in their father's property at his death on equal terms. A case in point is the adoption of one Izhihe by the late chief of Aichikuchumi, Ghulhoshe by name. Izhihe, of the Zumomi clan, married Hesheli, the daughter of Ghulhoshe, a Yepothomi, and her elder brother Mevekhe is now chief in his father's stead. Ghulhoshe, however, having adopted (*anguli-shishi*) Izhihe, the latter became a member of the Yepothomi clan, shared in Ghulhoshe's property on an equal footing with his blood son Mevekhe, and calls the latter *i-mu*, "my elder brother," instead of *i-chi*, "my brother-in-law," which he used to do before the adoption took place. No formality seems to accompany this adoption except the casual present of a cow, but the results of its taking place are permanent, and involve an entire contradiction of the otherwise imperative custom of exogamy. It seems to be resorted to but rarely.

Settlement of disputes.

It has already been shown that disputes within the village are settled by the chiefs and their *chochomi*. If it is a dispute as to a private right the matter would probably be settled by a compromise, the Sema being usually ready enough to agree to any reasonable sort of compromise on small matters such as whether or not the price of a pig has been paid in full or in part, or whether a creditor is owed 20 baskets of paddy or 15 only. In a case of the breach of custom which affects the whole community, such as breaking a genna, the delinquent would be fined and the fine "eaten" by the chief, who would, generally speaking, give a share to the *chochomi*. Such a fine might be in kind or in cash, but would usually be in the form of live pork. Should it be a case of personal injury to another, a similar fine would be exacted from the delinquent and made over to the sufferer. On points of custom the chief would be the ordinary authority, though reference on difficult points would be made to any one of his elders who happened to have authoritative knowledge. On points of disputed fact the chief and

his elders would also be usually in a position to know and determine, for even if they had no personal knowledge of the matter under dispute their general knowledge of the circumstances or character of the disputants would probably enable them to form a pretty shrewd notion of the real facts. It might, however, be necessary to put the parties to the oath.

The Sema oath has not the value of the Angami oath, and as it is far less common among Semas for one party to be quite willing to accept the oath of the other, the oath is less resorted to by Semas than by many other Naga tribes. What usually happens if an oath is suggested is that both parties are prepared to take the oath, but neither will abide by the oath of the other. Indeed it is difficult to find an oath that the average Sema, or at any rate many Semas, will not take recklessly and indiscriminately, except oaths of such weight that guilty and innocent alike hesitate to take them. Such an oath is the oath on the water of the Tapu (Dayang) river. No man who took a false oath on that water could ever cross the river or even enter it again, for it would certainly drown him, nor could he eat fish from the river during his whole life or he would die of it for sure. But then a man whose cause is really just will usually shy at taking this oath, for it is not a thing to be lightly undertaken, and the writer has known men content to lose their cause rather than take oath to its truth, even when there could have been little or no doubt but that they had the right on their side. The oath, too, on a village spring is another serious matter. A false swearer will never drink again of the water of that spring lest it kill him, causing his bowels and hands to swell immoderately, and many go so far as to hold that a person who swears truly on the village spring should never drink of it again. That renowned chief Sakhalu and his brother Kohazu took an oath on their village well, since when that well has been forsaken, and it would not perhaps beseem the writer to suggest that their oath was a false one, particularly as no ill befell them of it.

Oaths regarding ownership of land are taken on the earth

in dispute, which is bitten and swallowed. So also is the earth from a grave, while the oath on one's own flesh, though sometimes merely entailing biting one's finger, sometimes also, if great emphasis is desired, entails the swallowing of one's own flesh. The writer has seen a man accused of murder (and undoubtedly guilty) chop off the end of his forefinger and swallow it to add force to his asseverations of innocence. Oaths are also taken on a tiger's tooth. And this form of oath is very popular with perjurers, as tigers are becoming so scarce that no one is afraid of being carried off if he bites the tooth on a false oath. Probably, when the tribe was scattered thinly in heavy jungle and " jhums " were few and small, the toll taken by tigers was large, as all Naga tribes have an awe of the tiger, which is much more than commensurate with the damage he does on his nowadays rather rare appearances. Oaths on a tiger's tooth are rather troublesome because they entail the observance *pini* (see Part IV, p. 220) for from one to three days by the village in which they are taken, at any rate at any time of agricultural importance. This *pini* has also to be kept by the village of any person who, having been present at the swearing, re-enters his village the same day. This often results in the prohibition of people concerned in such an oath from returning to their villages at once, and from entering any other village.

Of plants, the *ayeshu* (a *polygonum*), a very short-lived plant springing up during the rains and dying down after a couple of months or so, the gourd vine (*apokhu*), probably for the same reason, and *michi-ni*, the leaf of the *michi-sü* (*Schima wallichii*), a tree that loses all its leaves in the autumn and remains bare in the cold weather, as well as some others, are used for taking oaths, as also is a bit of a bamboo that has been used for hanging up outside the village the heads of enemies taken in warfare. In the latter instances the idea is obviously that the perjurer will meet the fate of that which he bites upon and swears by. In the case of the tiger's tooth it is the tiger who will punish the taking of his name in vain, while the earth from a grave or from the disputed land will choke him who swears by it

falsely. A rare but serious form of oath is that taken by cutting iron, which if a man do falsely, members of his clan die off without apparent cause, such is the power of the metal when treated disrespectfully.[1] The writer has known a man come into court with a dao and a bit of umbrella wire prepared to take this oath.

In all oaths it is essential that the swearing should take place between sunrise and sunset, " that the sun may see the oath." And it is sometimes arranged that if a man will take a given oath the man who denies the truth of his statement shall pay him compensation for having unnecessarily pushed things so far as the taking of oaths, the taking of the oath being regarded as proof of the swearer's innocence. In such cases (which are not very common and usually occur where one side is well known to be in the right and the other merely obstinately and maliciously insisting on an oath) a sum of Rs.5/- or so is usually enough to compensate the swearer for the trouble and risk to which he has been put.

The following form may be given as a fair sample of a Sema oath :—

Ina Dovakhe ghaka pu-pukāye nishi-ni-ye
I Dovakhe's rupees steal-steal-if I-and-my-clan
kuchópu ghākave ; khuïthu pa 'msü-moghü chini ;
whole must-perish ; alive him equal is-tabu ;
apokhu ketsü-shi, ayeshu keghā-shi, chuïni
gourd-vine rotten-do, " ayeshu " perished-do, " chuïni "
keghā-shi ghākave ; hipa 'mphe amte
perished-do, must perish ; this year's paddy
chumono tini.
not having eaten will die.

That is to say :—

If I did steal Dovakhe's money, I and my clan must utterly perish ; (while) alive it is tabu to be equal to him ; like unto a rotted gourd-vine, unto decayed *ayeshu*, unto

[1] Inaho of Lumitsami had to desert his house and site and build a fresh house in another place because he had cut a bit of iron in his house in a fit of temper.

decayed *chui* leaf, so must we perish, and before that I can eat of this year's rice let me die.[1]

War and Head-hunting.

Disputes between villages in the still unadministered country, where there is no superior authority to settle them, must, if an amicable agreement is not reached, be subject to the ultimate arbitrament of war. The real causes of war are probably not more than three in number in the Sema country—first, shortage of land necessitating forcible encroachment on that of neighbouring villages; secondly, the protection of trading interests, as an attempt on the part of one village to trade directly with another at some distance has often caused war with an intervening village through which the trade used to pass (much to the profit of that intervening village) and which retaliates for its loss by making war on the interlopers, cutting up their trading parties, destroying the intercommunication between the offending villages, and compelling their trade to return to its old channel. Trade routes east of the administered area are still jealously protected in this way, and each village on a route makes its little profit on all articles passing backwards and forwards—daos, salt, pigs, cloths, pots, and the like. The third cause is found in the fits of restlessness that from time to time afflict most Naga villages, the desire of the young men as yet untried to prove their manhood and gain the right of wearing the warrior's gauntlets and boar's tush collar, all culminating in an overwhelming desire to get somebody's head, which not infrequently outweighs all riper considerations of policy and prudence. If this cause is at work the most trifling incident may become an occasion for a raid. Villages in this mood too will deliberately provoke hostilities by refusing some act of customary courtesy or right. And war has frequently been known to be occasioned by the refusal to give the customary feast to a person bound by formal ties of friendship, by a refusal to pay up the price agreed upon for a wife or to give a girl in marriage when it has been arranged, by the divorce of a

[1] Compare the Angami oath, "The Angami Nagas," p. 145. Another form of Sema oath is also given in the same place. The form *ghaka-ve* is strictly a very complete perfect = "has finished perishing."

chief's wife, the housing of a runaway and refusal to send him back, by selling the flesh of animals that have died of disease and so infecting another village, by the breach of a genna, such as taking some prohibited thing into the fields of another village at harvest time, or by a gratuitous insult, " or any other reason why." All such matters as these could be and often, probably usually, are settled amicably, but if the villages are in the mood for it they will and often do occasion war.

War is of many sorts, and no fine distinction is made in the Sema mind between what is genuinely war and what we should call merely head-hunting. The following various tactics are distinguished by Semas :—

Akuluh—pitched battle. One village challenges another either by a message sent through a third village or shouted out on the occasion of a raid or called out from some safe spot within earshot of the opponents, but out of their reach. A time two or three days off is fixed for the two villages to meet at a given place with all the allies they can muster and fight. Heads are normally very difficult to get in this form of warfare, as the retreat of the weaker side is always covered by panjis and picked warriors. Seromi, however, in a pitched battle with the Aos of Longsa on the site where Sapotimi village now is, once managed to get seven heads. A challenge to a pitched battle sent through a third village would normally be accompanied by some symbolic message, generally a panji or part of one, but often accompanied by something else, generally a chili, to signify the smarting in store for the recipients. The writer was once sent a chili impaled on a bit of panji together with a challenge to personal combat, signifying not only war and the unpleasantness in store for him if he accepted, but that if he failed to accept he was only fit for impalement like a sacrificed puppy. The Survey party in the Sema country in 1875 was several times met by the whole fighting strength of a village got up in full dress and prepared to give battle, though the only attacks actually made were apparently attempts at surprise attacks. In event of a battle taking place the women would probably support their menfolk

at a safe distance with petticoats full of stones for use as missiles, which they would replenish from dumps previously collected along the most probable line of retreat.

Ashepe is a raid on the fields of a hostile village, proved warriors being placed as sentries on the flanks and as a rear-guard to protect the raiding party from being cut off, while the raiders clean up those of the enemy village who have the misfortune to be surprised at their hoeing. Thus before their annexation Asükokhwomi took a woman's head from Sheyepu by an attack in this method, while Seromi took seven heads from Baïmho in a similar raid.

Ahusü (or *inahusü*) consists in laying an ambush for people of a hostile village as they emerge from their village in the morning when going to work on their fields. They are, if possible, cut off from their village and surrounded.

Tivetsate is the laying of an ambush during the day to catch the people of a hostile village returning from their fields in the evening.

Apfulie are raids on the village itself, and are divided up according to the circumstances under which they are made, thus :

Puchofile is a raid at midday on a village the menfolk of which have gone to their fields to work. Thus in 1912 or thereabouts Tsukohomi raided Shietz and got seven or eight heads in this way, and in 1914 Shietz raided Lumtami (Lumakami) and got the heads of one old man and two children. The latter raid was entirely gratuitous and unprovoked.

Tsuktofile is a raid at cock-crow—just before dawn. An entry is made quietly into the hostile village and the raiders post themselves at the doors of the houses and cut down the inmates as they emerge at daybreak. So Churangchu, chief of the Angangba khel of Chisang, led a raid on Pakavi of Kumishe in 1914 which succeeded (owing to the treachery of one faction in Kumishe) in destroying twelve or thirteen households. Only two men escaped, and a woman and a child, who hid behind a door till the raiders had gone through the house and then ran out into the jungle. So too in 1917 the Sangtam village of " Chonomi " raided the newly-built

Sema village of Zivihe, which consisted of eleven houses. "Chonomi" only got two heads, but frightened Zivihe into removing his village from their land.

Kighishi consists in making an entry into a hostile village by night and merely spearing a man through the wall or roof of his house or entering the house and taking his head. In either case a departure is effected with all speed. Baïmho and Yezami were for a long time at war, during which some men of Baïmho killed Hovishe, chief of Yezami, by spearing him through the thatch of his house at night, and Viheshe, a man of Yezami, retaliated by killing Inache, a chief of Baïmho, in the same manner.

Tinshi is killing a cow of a hostile village, hiding in wait for the first pursuer, and taking his head and one's own departure as fast as possible. To provide an instance of *tinshi* and *kighishi* combined, Nikhui's villages made a joint raid on "Lakomi," a Tukomi Sangtam village, in 1914. They sent a warrior on ahead, who speared a man in his house in the early morning. The village braves hurriedly assembled for the pursuit and ran straightway into the ambush laid for them. A little later, however, Gwovishe's people thought they would try the same game on Kitsa, but their bait, who had missed his man in the hostile village, got wounded by the enemy, who suspected a trick and refused to follow him into the trap.

Tushwonëi [*tushwonü* = a stranger (*i.e.*, a man of another village) who is not an enemy and *yi* = to kill] means killing and taking the head of a person who is met casually on the path or even by arrangement. Nikāshe, the present chief of Aichi-kuchumi, practised *tushwonëi* when he incited a Yachumi chief to come with him to Mokokchung in 1912 and get a red cloth, and then while fording the Tizu river fell upon him and smote him, and took his head.

The names given by the Semas to these tactics suggest in several instances the perpetration of a grim jest. *Ashepe* is the same word as that meaning work in the fields, and only the faintest difference in accent is detectable. *Kighishi* means "thatching," and, in view of the tactics it denotes, the application is obvious. *Inahusü* (<*ina*, an obsolete

form of *inakhe* = early, and *hu* = going to the fields) means early rising to go to the fields. *Tivetsate* seems to mean "letting go," with the intent, of course, to catch on their way home, and *tinshi*, which means "desire to die," undoubtedly refers to the mentality of the silly ass who rashly pursues the killer of his cattle.

With the exception of *akuluh*, all these tactics postulate surprise, and if the raiders find their prospective victims prepared, they come home rather ignominiously. This is called *aghüphipusho*.

The tactics described above should give a fair idea of the Sema methods of warfare and head-hunting. Sudden raids, surprises, ambushes, and hurried evasion constitute most of it, and the pitched battle does not often occur. The throwing spear, the crossbow (for the simple bow has disappeared), the dao, and an occasional muzzle-loading gun are their weapons of offence, the shield and panjis those of defence, for a Sema on the warpath carries a basket of panjis, and sticks all the path with them, when retreating, to hinder pursuit. Booby traps are also popular, but are not developed to the extent that the Changs and Konyaks use them further north and east, as they consist mainly in panji-pits. A favourite variety is the *aghükhoh* or "war-pit." This is contrived by choosing a place where the path goes along the side of a hill and excavating a deep and long pit under the path perhaps as much as 6 feet long by 8 feet deep, without disturbing the surface, which is left intact for a considerable thickness.

The bottom of the pit is filled with double rows of panjis, say 4 feet and 2 feet in length respectively, and the excavation is concealed. The *aghükhoh* may then just be left for the enemy to walk into, or the enemy may be lured to rush into it by a warrior on the far side, who apparently risks his head to wait about and shout insulting challenges. In this way, with good luck, sometimes even three of one's foes at a fall may be caused to go down together well perforated into the pit. The *apukukhoh* or "leg-pit" is usually made by taking advantage of a depression in the ground, and this depression, or a shallow pit made for the purpose,

is planted with short panjis in the ordinary way and filled up with bits of sticks, moss, grass, leaves, and earth, so that it lames people before they realise that the ground is panjied. The stone-chute (*zhüka*, "flattener") is known to the Semas, but apparently not put into practice by them in warfare.

Stones and sticks and sharpened bamboos are also used. When two neighbouring villages are at war large numbers of the former, and these including stones of all sizes, are collected near the hostile border by men, women, and children for days in advance of a projected battle or raid on the enemy. They are then used to throw or roll down at any who pursue the returning warriors of their own village. Similar collections of stones are made in houses built in large trees near the village overlooking any path which an enemy is likely to use.[1]

The Semas have on many occasions shown themselves superior as warriors to their neighbours on the north and east, as indeed may be inferred from the way in which they have dispossessed them of their lands. Thus the 30 houses of Maghromi proved such a thorn in the flesh of the Ao village of Nankam (700 houses) that the latter determined on a serious effort to wipe out the village. Two hundred Aos surrounded Maghromi before daylight, and, having completed their preparations, sat down to wait till it was lighter. During the wait they laid down their weapons to eat and, Ao-like, started chattering. A Sema, up early and coming into the jungle near the village, heard them and slipped back to warn the village, which collected what men it could muster, who surprised and routed seven times their number of Aos, taking heads and capturing several guns,

[1] Some tribes, the Phoms and Konyaks in particular, carefully train the suckers of the Bor tree (*Ficus Indica*) so as to grow into a natural scaffolding on which a large tree house may be built for this purpose. I once found the suckers being trained in this way in a small Ao village that had been administered for many years, and asked them why they did it. All they could tell me was that it was the custom, and it was only later that I found out the real reason, which the village itself had undoubtedly forgotten. Mr. Mills tells me that the Ao village of Longjang also trains these suckers with hollow bamboos "because it is the custom."

which they broke up as they did not know how to use them.

Maghromi also supplied an instance of the Sema use of craft. Both the Aos of Nankam and the Lhotas of Lungtang claimed tribute from the chief, who was thus between two fires. By promises to both he managed to induce the Aos and Lhotas to fight about it, offering his tribute to the victor and egging on both disputants. As Lungtang was a small village and Nankam a large one, all the Lhota men had to turn out to fight the Aos in the pitched battle that took place by the stream selected by the Chief of Maghromi. While the Lhotas were engaged in the fight they suddenly spied a great column of smoke rising up from their village, where Maghromi had cut up all who were left behind and burnt the village. Having thus disposed for ever of one enemy (the site of Lungtang was occupied by Semas from Phusumi and is the present Litami), they were able successfully to resist the other.

Many Sema raids, however, have and still do end in *aghüphipusho*, like a raid of Gwovishe's on Shipvomi; the raiding party found Shipvomi prepared, and when it got there came back again, like the fleet that went to Spain.

In the administered village, however, war is gradually receding into the limbo of the forgotten past, except in so far as the desire to wear the warrior's pigs' tushes and cowrie gauntlets keeps the young men desirous of going as carriers on expeditions on which they hope for a chance of "touching meat" and thus acquiring the right to put on the coveted ornaments. It is partly this desire, as well as loyalty, which at the time of writing [1] has just taken 1,000 Semas to work in France. In their own villages they have to confine themselves to the more modest exploits of cutting off the tail of a neighbour's cow, a deed of chastened daring which is followed by the hanging up of the beast's tail and the performance of a genna as though for the taking of a head. Incidentally, the animal—it is usually a mithan—which is thus treated loses all its value for ceremonial purposes and

[1] April, 1917.

becomes fit only for sale as meat, for the owner himself cannot even eat of it, much less kill it at a feast, so that the animal loses at least 50 per cent. of its market value. A bit of another person's hair, if abstracted by stealth or force, may be likewise treated as the subject of a genna, with the dire effect of causing the death, or at least the illness, of the original grower of the hair.[1] The killing of an enemy's cattle, or even dogs, cannot, however, be counted as " heads " by the killer unless he has actually taken part in the killing of an enemy. If a man does so take part, and probably if he succeeds at all in being " in at the death," he reckons as heads all the enemy mithan he may have killed previously, provided always that he has not eaten the flesh of such mithan. No cattle of which he has eaten the flesh can under any circumstances be counted.

The principal gennas connected with head-taking are the *aghucho*, which inaugurates hostilities, and the *aghupfu*, which celebrates their success. The former centres on certain stones, themselves called *aghucho*, which are usually to be found lying about the village somewhere near the chief's house. These stones should strictly be water-worn black stones approximately spherical in shape and divided across the middle by a thin white stratum dividing each into two parts.[2] The size of the stone is immaterial. Of course, stones that really comply with this description are only occasionally met with, but anything that approaches the standard will serve, and very often any queer-shaped stone is taken to the village and preserved as an *aghucho*. Some *aghucho* were shown to the writer in Philimi which were just black stones worn into curious shapes by water, one or two faintly resembling the shape of a human neck and head. Like the charm stones kept in granaries to ensure the prosperity of the owner and as a guard against the depredations of mice, these *aghucho* breed and beget

[1] In 1915 some men of Aochagalimi cut a bit of hair off a boy of Yeshulutomi. Though this was settled as between the principals in the dispute, Yeshulutomi village demanded a formal and public peace-making with Aochagalimi village.

[2] I have seen just such a stone venerated as a " healing stone " in Co. Donegal. See *Folklore*, Sept. 30, 1920.

young, in witness whereof there are numerous small stones always to be seen lying around the place where the *aghucho* are. These in time will grow up and become *aghucho* and breed in their turn. In most Sema villages *aghucho* are prized only as giving success in war, and, though in Philimi the chief would not let the writer take away an *aghucho* for fear it might hurt the crop, in most administered villages the *aghucho* have been neglected and lost, as now that there is no war they are of no further use.

The genna preceding a raid consists in killing a pig and presenting six small scraps of the liver and of the flesh to the *aghucho* stones. The village is genna that day and no one may go to the fields. After this day is over anyone may start raiding. When an *aghucho* is found and brought to the village, this genna is observed whether it is intended to follow it by raiding or not.

The *aghupfu* is celebrated by successful raiders, who come back singing a *yemale*, on the day of their return from the warpath. Till it is done they are unclean, genna, holy, and a village that is sowing, etc., cannot entertain them.[1] The whole village is circumambulated by the raiders, carrying the heads obtained. Then a chicken is killed by each man who has actually taken a head himself, and the most pre-eminent warrior in the village, whose duty it is to make holes in the crowns of enemy skulls—he is called (for this purpose) *akutsü-kegheheo*, " the head-hanger "—is given the head of the chicken in virtue of his office. Tiny scraps of the fowl's flesh are set apart for the ghosts of the dead enemy. Eleven minute scraps[2] in all, each placed on two crossed leaves, six pieces in the name of the victor and five in that of the victim, are laid out in a row before the head and in the place where the skull is to hang. The rest of the fowl is eaten on the spot by the returned warriors ; before returning to the village the scraps are again counted, and should one be found short the ghost of the dead has

[1] Observed on operations against the Kukis in 1918, as also the custom referred to of counting enemy mithan as " heads."

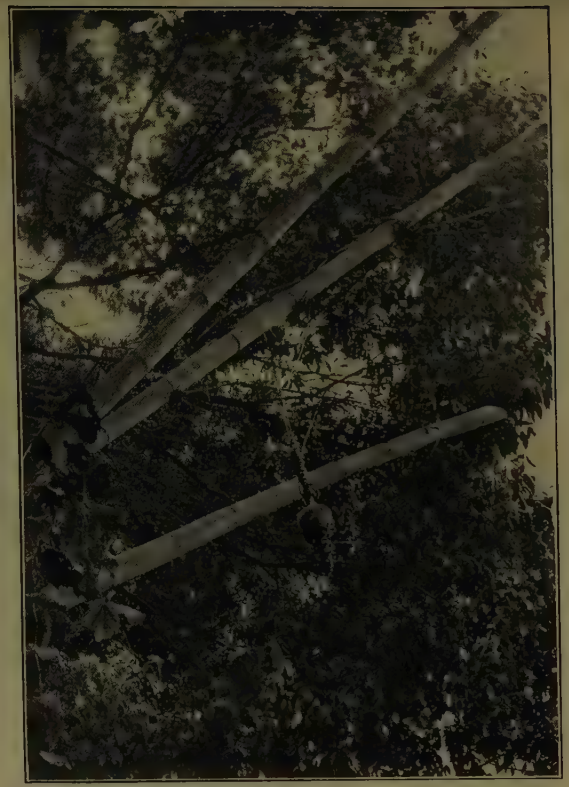
[2] Mr. Mills tells me that eleven scraps of meat are used by the Lhotas in almost all ceremonies.

eaten it, and it is a sure omen of another successful expedition, the idea probably being that the dead man, gratified at his meal, will call his living friends to come and partake similarly. Some of the eastern Semas, following a Yachumi practice, skewer wads of meat to the mouth and eyes of the dead head, that the ghost may eat and be filled and call his friends to come and be killed, and that after all sorts of indignities both in word and deed have been showered on the trophy by the women and children of the village. It is essential, in laying out the scraps of meat for the ghost of the slain, that while six are brought in the name of the killer, only five are brought in the name of the killed, otherwise the former would not be victorious in the future. The raiders are genna on this day, and may not eat inside the village. They must observe chastity and may not even sleep in the inner room where their wives are, but in the *akishebokhoh*. If they are to eat at all they must be fed outside the village and before they enter it after returning from the raid. There is, however, no restriction on drinking. On the following day the warriors are still genna, and a pig is killed. The head is given to the *akutsü-kegheheo*, who now makes a hole through the head from the top of the forehead to the bottom of the skull at the back,[1] after which the *lapu*[2] strings it on a cane. A bamboo is cut and planted in the ground at the village Golgotha (*aghü-kutsü-kogho-bo*, "the place of enemy heads") outside the fence. This bamboo must be cut off high enough from the ground to ensure its not surviving and taking root, as this would entail the success of the enemy. The head is strung up by the *lāpu* to the top of the bamboo, after which it is genna to touch it. Those who do not bring back a head, but have shared in getting one, hang up an earthen pot to represent it. Gourds are also hung up for mithan, dogs, etc., and also for human heads.

A Sema returning from the warpath with a head sings "*O, Yemusāle, Yemāle,*" probably in allusion to

[1] Lazemi and probably other villages of the Dayang Valley bore the head from ear to ear.

[2] For *lapu* see Part IV.



Aghü-kutsü-kogho-bo at Kukishe containing the Head of a Man of Chashorr taken by Zhekevi of Kukishe and hung up according to custom.

Aghüza in Philimi Village.

[*To face p.* 176.

the piercing (*yema*)[1] of the heads for their stringing up. *Ale* = "sing."

For some reason or combination of reasons the heads of women are as highly prized as those of men, perhaps more so. That this is so is demonstrated by the stock formula for songs in celebration of a warrior's exploits. This formula runs as follows:

"Oh! So-and-so killed-and-brought-back-the-head-of a girl of Such-and-such (a village or tribe);

"Oh! So-and-so (the warrior's brother or, if none, his nearest male relative younger than himself) cut off the hair and put it in his ears;

"Oh! cut off and put in his ears the hair of the girl of Such-and-such;

"Oh! So-and-so (the warrior's wife) rejoiced" (or "applauded").

Thus a song celebrating the exploits of Sakhalu runs:

O, Sakhalu-no Aborlimi i-pfu-ghe
iho, iho, iho, i
O, Kohazu asa li-kyeghe
iho, iho, iho, i
O, li-kyeghe, Aborlimi'sa li-kyeghe
iho, iho, iho, i
O, Ilheli allove
iho, iho, iho, i
O, Ilheli allove-o
iho, iho, iho, i,

which, being interpreted, tells how Sakhalu killed and brought back the head of an Abor girl, how Kohazu (his brother) cut off the hair and put it in his ears, and how Ilheli (Sakhalu's wife) rejoiced or applauded. Now Sakhalu was employed as a Scout on the Abor Expedition of 1911–12 and took the heads of several male Abors, and, as far as is known, of no women, yet in celebrating his exploits he is described as taking the heads of women, and not of men.

[1] But this is not certain, and some Semas do not profess to know the meaning. The Lhotas sing "*O Shàmashāri o smaiyāli*" under similar circumstances, but do not know the meaning of the words.

Similarly, the song in the same formula celebrating Inato's exploits fictitiously attributes to him the taking of the head of a girl of Nankam, although he had taken one or two genuine heads from men in his time.[1] The killing of idiots and similarly deficient persons, such as hunchbacks and deaf mutes, is "genna."

It is possible that the reason why women's heads are held in greater estimation is that they are harder to get, as a village in time of trouble sends the men to work where there is danger, while the women work only near the village, so that to get one of their heads entails venturing right up to the hostile village at great risk of being cut off on the return journey. It is also possible that the desire to cause a permanent reduction of the enemy population may have something to do with it. The killing of a man will not affect the birth-rate much, but the killing of a woman probably will.[2] It is also possible that the desire for the woman's hair for ornaments may have contributed. Some men of Lumitsami made a successful raid on Nankam, but several of them were cut off on their way back owing to the delay caused by their squabbles as to the possession of a woman's head with long hair, which all of them wanted in order to adorn the tails they wore at festivities.[3]

The taking of a head or killing of an enemy entitles the warrior to wear cowrie gauntlets (*aouka asüka*) and a collar

[1] I have gone into this, as the greater value put on women's heads has been asserted of other tribes and doubts have been raised as to the truth of such assertions. See Hodson, "Naga Tribes of Manipur," p. 114, notes 2 and 5.

[2] Conversely, too, the acquisition of a female head plus a female ghost might increase the fertility of the successful village.

[3] In 1919 I heard an accusation brought by the men of Iganumi, headed by their chief, who accused a woman of that village named Shikuli, and another, of bewitching and poisoning their fellow villagers with the aid of human hair taken in war from dead enemies by the ancestors of these women, who were alleged to put fragments of these heirlooms into food offered to their neighbours. They produced a *thumomi* (see Part IV) named Kamli, who to prove the truth of her statement produced from Shikuli's hand a minute fragment of hair which she (Kamli) had hidden under her thumb nail and which she pretended to extract from under Shikuli's finger-nail after stroking along her finger as though drawing out the hair as by a magnet.

of pigs' tushes, though strictly only one pair of these should be worn unless the wearer has taken more than one head. Nowadays it is enough to "touch flesh" by spearing the body of an enemy shot by troops, since the administered Semas can no longer make war on their own account. A man who has speared or "cut" a still living enemy whose head is taken by another man—for the first spear gets the whole head even if someone else cut it off—has an earthen pot hung up in place of a head with precisely the same ceremonial, while a man who has only "touched meat" has a gourd hung up in the same way, the stringing being done by the *akutsü-kegheheo*. Should the string on which a head is hung break, it is regarded as an excellent omen, forecasting an early repetition of the success.

The ceremony of peace-making between two villages that have been at war is an elaborate one. A place is fixed upon between the two villages at which the opposing hosts are to meet and make a formal peace. Each side prepares food and drink, and every man according to his ability gets ready flesh, a chicken, or eggs at least, while several large pigs are killed and plenty of rice-beer is brewed. All the flesh is cooked, and on the appointed day is taken to the spot with cooked rice and several gourds of liquor per head by the whole community of grown males. Women are not allowed to be present, and must not even go to the fields on that day by the path which the men are to use when they go to the peace-making.

Meanwhile the *lapu* of each village has made ready a new fire-stick, and a single sliver of pliant bamboo made from a plant most carefully sought and brought in from the forest by a selected unmarried youth and kept until needed in his house or, if the *lapu* has no wife, in the *lapu's* house. When the two parties have met at the appointed spot, a small party of the chief and leading men of both villages is formed at a distance from the main body of villagers, and in the presence of this select group the rival *lapus* proceed to make fire, using their new fire-sticks and the single thong. Each *lapu* when starting to make fire says to the other, "*Alhokesa kizhe a la wosala shipini*," which, being inter-

preted, is " All that there is of evil, shall it not be on thy head ? "[1]

After that, should either of the *lapu* fail to get fire with his single thong, then all the expiation to which either side or both have rendered themselves liable will be borne by the clan of those men, in the village of the *lapu* who has failed, who have lost their heads, or lives, to the other village, and some members of this clan will most certainly go blind, or lose their teeth, or get a cancer (particularly of the mouth or eye), or go lame or die of internal hæmorrhage. The same happens to the rash man who eats the food, smokes the pipe, or touches the dao of a man whose family has killed one of the former's clan before any formal peace has been made. It is also advisable always to sit on one's dao when eating or drinking in the house of a man with whose clan one's own clan used to be on head-taking terms, even if peace has since been made and many years have elapsed. Otherwise one's teeth decay and fall out and one's eyes become sore and watery. The idea which underlies the sitting on a dao is said to be that iron breaks all gennas, the evil effect of the forbidden act being neutralised by the iron of the dao.

After the *lapus* have made (or failed to make) their fire, both villages collect fuel and make a fire, which they light from the fire made by their *lapu*. Should the *lapu* have failed to get fire, his fire-stick is chopped up and thrown away, and fire is made by some lusty young man, for since it is a serious matter if fire again fails, older men, like the now very unpopular *lapu*, are not trusted to try. Matches may not be used under these circumstances.[2] On this fire *aghü* (see p. 98) is burnt, and each side expresses a wish that his village may be in future as sharp as thatching grass or

[1] The use of the word " head " here is not an absolutely literal rendering of the Sema, but probably conveys the sense of the expression as nearly as is possible in English. The word *wosala* is obscure and possibly archaic ; *wo-* probably = *o*—the possessive of the second person—*sala* is possibly connected with *asa* = hair of the head.

[2] The Sangtams, who ordinarily possess flint and steel (or rather quartz and iron), eschew these in the same way as Semas eschew matches when they perform their peace-making ceremonies.

sword-grass. The reason for burning *aghü*, which gives a very pungent odour when burnt, is probably to drive away evil influences, as it is burnt in time of illness to drive away evil spirits, and at most or all important gennas, presumably with the same purpose. Next the two villages exchange the food and drink they have brought and lay out their daos upon the ground, and the men of each side, putting a foot upon the dao of one of their late adversaries, start to eat and drink standing there, but presently sit down and eat as usual, still keeping a foot on the dao. While drinking, each side expresses a silent wish that all the evil which may have resulted from their hostility may be upon the heads of the other side. What or why exactly this evil is is not clear, and the Sema himself has probably no precise notion of what he means, but it is possible that the anger of the dead killed in the war is roused at the making of peace by their fellow villagers and clansmen with the enemy, and that this anger is feared. It must be admitted, however, that there is nothing in Sema eschatology to suggest this. It is, however, clear that the performance of the peace-making genna is not regarded as ensuring the peacemakers absolute security against the toothlessness, cancers, lameness, and other judgments that follow reconciliation with an hereditary enemy. In any case it is highly advisable to express the wish in silence. When Sotoemi and the Sangtam (Tukomi) village of Yetsimi were making peace in the way described at the place where the village of Tokikehimi now is, a Sotoemi man of the Chophimi clan, which had lost eight heads to a man of Yetsimi, expressed aloud and with emphasis the hope that the said man of Yetsimi should suffer the horrors detailed above. He said this in Sema, but one Yevetha, a runaway Sema who had acted as go-between, translated it into Sangtam, whereupon a man of Yetsimi clave the speaker's head in twain with a battle-axe (*ailaghi*), whereto a Sema of Sotoemi responded by cutting down Yevetha, and both sides incontinently fell a-fighting, and as they were all mixed up there was much slaughter, and Yetsimi got 50 heads off Sotoemi, and Sotoemi 75 off Yetsimi ; but this is the Sema version.

When eating and drinking are finished the gourds are given back to their owner and the villagers return home, usually abstracting many of each other's spears, as these are stuck into ground here and there in every direction, and the chiefs and elders cannot prevent looting, though they hunt out the stolen weapons afterwards and secure their return. Before reaching the village everyone has to wash himself, his clothes, and his weapons, though the old men sometimes restrict the washing of their clothes to one corner only for fear of catching cold. If any victuals or drink are left over from the ceremony, these must be partaken of by the old men before entering the village, after which nothing more may be eaten or drunk that day, while all must remain chaste that night.

In the case of a man cutting off the tail of his neighbour's mithan, when regarded as head-taking in a minor degree as described above, he performs a peace ceremony of correspondingly reduced dimensions, which in its simplest form consists merely of the exchange, between the offender and the owner of the tail-cut mithan, of sips first of water, then of liquor from each other's plantain-leaf cups, and lastly of the burning of *aghü* on a fire outside the house, new fire not necessarily being made, though some insist on this. Failure to do this ceremony might entail unpleasant consequences. Recently one Khekuvi of Shevekhe cut off a bit of the ear of one of Sakhalu's mithan. This was found out, suitably atoned for, and the peace ceremony gone through in its simplified form by the offender and Sakhalu. Some months later[1] Hotoi, Sakhalu's son, was passing through Shevekhe village, and anon blood gushed forth from his nose and his mouth in a manner terrifying, at any rate, to Hotoi. This was put down at once to his not having been made a party to the peace ceremony, and a further ceremony was insisted on between Khekuvi and Hotoi.

When fighting with nearly-related persons, as sometimes happens in a land dispute, sticks and stones are used, or the blunt backs of daos. And even if sharp weapons are used heads are not taken.

[1] April, 1917.

A birth of any domestic animal prevents the owner going to war, but that of a human being in his house does not; on the contrary, it is rather lucky.

Sexual intercourse while on the warpath is strictly genna.

Position of Women.

The position of women in the Sema tribe, though they are possibly more restricted in the matter of the possession of property and in sexual licence than the women of the Angami and Ao tribes, is probably higher socially, as it is morally, than in either of them, at any rate as far as the families of chiefs are concerned.

The Sema girl lives until marriage in the house of her parents unless she is sent to the house of her chief, or some other protector, where she lives as one of the family and pays for her keep by her services. In any case, though given plenty of freedom and going to the fields with her own *aluzhili*, which consists till her marriage of contemporaries of both sexes, she is carefully looked after and not allowed that freedom of sexual intercourse usual to unmarried girls in most Naga tribes. Lazemi is perhaps an exception to the general rule in this respect, and possibly one or two other villages in the Dayang Valley in which the Angami influence is pronounced. This is not to say that the unmarried Sema girl is invariably chaste, but she is a good deal more so than the girl of any neighbouring tribe. The care which is taken of her is partly due to the desire not to damage her value in the marriage market, as a girl who is known to have had an intrigue commands a much lower marriage price as a rule.[1] Accordingly the fine for an adultery with a girl of position is much higher than that for a similar affair with the daughter of a man of none, since the marriage price of the latter is in any case much lower than that of, say, a chief's daughter.

A Sema girl's head is shaved until she is regarded as approaching a marriageable age, when the hair is allowed to grow. Marriage is of course always on exogamous principles, and it is regarded as very shameful to say anything at all

[1] The Sema is in no ignorance of the causes of conception, but regards it as normally, if not always, requiring intercourse on more than one occasion.

improper before a woman of one's own clan and still more so of one's own kindred. Shameless men, however, who do this are not punished—at any rate by any human agency. When she is betrothed she wears a plaited band of red cane and yellow orchid-stem round her forehead, which she leaves off shortly after her marriage. A girl's betrothal in the case of the ordinary villagers does not usually last long, but in that of chiefs' children marriages are sometimes arranged for a long time before they can take place. This arrangement is made as a rule by the parents, who are asked for their daughter by a go-between, acting usually at the instance of a young man who wants her, or at that of the parents of a young man who has not found a suitable wife, but normally the prospective bridegroom himself is the first to move in the matter. In any case the marriage is never made against the girl's will, though it may often happen that she does no more than passively acquiesce in the arrangements made by her parents or guardian. The arbitrary breaking off of a match by either party renders that party liable to a fine (usually about Rs. 5/- or Rs. 10/-), which, in the case of the engagement being broken off by the girl or her people in order that she may marry someone else, is paid by the party last mentioned.

The prices paid for wives vary very considerably indeed according to their station in life, ranging in value from Rs. 20/- or even less to as much as Rs. 400/- or Rs. 500/-, but they are always paid largely in kind, and the girl in her turn brings with her beads and ornaments which become the property of her husband and which are to some extent proportionate to the price paid for her, though they do not by any means equal it in value. Besides the girl's birth, her capabilities are also taken into account, a girl who is thrifty, can weave, or is a hard and good worker in the fields commanding a higher price accordingly. Personal appearance has little bearing on the marriage price. The price of a widow who has gone back to her father's house is very much less than that of a girl not previously married, while a woman divorced for misconduct, or who for some other reason is generally undesirable, would command

merely a nominal sum. On the other hand, the prices asked by important chiefs for their daughters are sometimes quite excessive. A daughter of Ghukiya is said to have fetched 50 head of cattle, a pair of ivory armlets worth Rs. 80/-, and Rs. 100/- in cash, which might be in total value anything from Rs. 300/- to Rs. 500/- or more, and she blear-eyed, but the commoner who married her probably got beads worth Rs. 200/- or so with her, as well as the distinction of an alliance with Ghukiya, which was as good as a life insurance policy[1] and was probably what he wanted.

The Sema woman is usually a good wife and a good mother, and though marriages are polygynous in the case of all who can afford it, the various wives get on well enough together, particularly if there are more than two. Separate houses are sometimes built for some of the wives, but not necessarily. The wife manages the house, entertains her husband's guests, works in his fields, and generally shares his entire confidence on matters of domestic economy. One of the wives is usually regarded as the head wife, but she does not necessarily take the lead in regulating her husband's household, and her position as the principal wife does not seem to be very definite. In the case of a chief's son or other *kekami*, she would normally be the one first married, though as it is not always easy to find a girl of suitable age and family, such marriages are often arranged a long way ahead, and thus it happens that sometimes the bridegroom takes one wife to himself before the important marriage comes off, but in such a case the wife married later would take formal precedence of the one married first.

As regards property, a man's widows are entitled to one-third of their husband's movable property, and if one or more of the widows remain unmarried in the late husband's house, she, or they, may get whatever free labour was due to the dead man for a period not exceeding three years. After that they may be given some free labour as a matter of courtesy, but they are not entitled to it. If a widow marries one of her husband's heirs, the latter enjoys the

[1] Because few would be rash enough to interfere too far with the man who had married the daughter of so powerful a chief.

property without division for her lifetime, and in some cases widows are allowed to receive payments in cash on the score of dues to their late husband.[1]

Although women can possess movable property in absolute ownership, they cannot, however, possess land unless they have bought it, and even then they do not seem able to bequeath it as they please, for the sons or other male heirs will claim the land in virtue of the disability of women to inherit or possess it.

As regards the guardianship of children, the children by her original husband of a wife divorced or of a widow who had married again could be claimed by the husband or his heirs when weaned, but the woman would have the right to keep unweaned children when she left her husband's house until they were weaned, which is usually at about three years old. If they were not claimed they might stay with their mother, but they might, unless specifically given up, be claimed at any time on payment of a sum to cover the cost of their keep in the interval. In the case of a girl who has been brought up by her mother independently of the father and his relations, or partly so, it is usual to divide the marriage price, the mother taking half and the father or his representatives taking half, and even if the paternal rights over a girl had been renounced, a payment of some sort would probably be made to him on the girl's marriage in recognition of the fact that he had begotten her.

Divorce is easy and fairly often occurs. In the case of a wife committing adultery, she may be simply put away, her husband keeping the ornaments he got with her and claiming a penalty of one head of cattle from her father or his heirs, together with repayment of the price which he paid for her if within three years of the marriage. Otherwise the husband may condone the offence, receiving a fine from her paramour, which varies according to the woman's position. This fine he could claim in any case, whether he

[1] In 1916, Inato, Chief of Lumitsami, bequeathed part of his unrealised debts to his widows, and in 1917 the sons of the widow of Khukiya of Yemeshe allowed her to "eat" money paid in lieu of returning a runaway dependant of her late husband's. In both these cases the payments were made as of courtesy, not as of right.

kept his wife or not, but if the offended husband was a chief and the offender one of his own men, the latter would certainly be ejected from his village and, if in unadministered territory, would be in peril of his life if he did not anticipate trouble by fleeing fast and far.

A man who puts away his wife for incompatibility of temper or some minor fault may claim a repayment of the marriage price provided the divorce takes place before three years have expired from the date of the marriage.[1] At any time, however, he must give back the woman's ornaments in case of a divorce of this sort.

A woman who objects to her husband can leave him at any time, but will not get her ornaments back if she does so against her husband's consent, unless he has seriously ill-treated her, in which case she could claim the return of her ornaments as well as a fine for the ill-treatment. In any case the marriage price would have to be repaid to him. Divorce is, however, probably less frequent among the Semas than among neighbouring tribes, of whom the Aos are particularly bad in this respect, almost making it the rule rather than the exception to be divorced at least once during their lives, and usually for infidelity. They are, as Hakluyt's voyager would put it, "the most of them naughtie packes."

The position of women among the Semas is on the whole far from the degradation sometimes alleged of Nagas in general (*e.g.* Assam Census of 1891). The women have to work very hard in the fields, but their husbands do the same, and both as daughters, wives, and mothers they are treated with real affection and respect by their parents, their husbands, and their children. The writer remembers going into the house of Ivihe, the old Chief of Aochagalimi, who was very miserable, and noticing a long tally of knotted string. On asking what it meant he was told that each knot represented one day that had passed since the death of the old man's wife some months before.

[1] This right to a repayment of the price if the divorce is within three years of marriage seems not to be recognised by the southern villages.

PART IV

RELIGION: GENERAL CHARACTER OF POPULAR BELIEFS; SPIRITS AND DEITIES; THE SOUL AND ESCHATOLOGY; RELIGION AND MAGIC; HIERARCHY; CEREMONIES OF THE AGRICULTURAL YEAR; OF SOCIAL STATUS, SICKNESS, ETC.; CEREMONIES OF BIRTH, MARRIAGE, DEATH, ETC.; MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS, FORCES OF NATURE, ETC.; CALENDAR

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Religious Beliefs.

THE religion of the Semas is conveniently labelled "Animism" by the Census of India and official authority generally, and Sir Edward Tylor, in his minimum definition of religion, defined Animism as a "belief in spiritual beings." So far as that goes, most of us are Animists, but Sir James Frazer, somewhere in "The Golden Bough," lays down that when definite deities with specific names and function are recognised the Animist has become a Polytheist and the term Animism is no longer strictly applicable. If this be so, the Sema is in the process of ceasing, if he has not already ceased, to be an "Animist."

Deities.

The spirits which the Sema reveres are divided into three distinct classes. First of all there is *Alhŏu* (or *Timilhōu*), who seems to be regarded as a usually beneficent but somewhat remote Creator interfering little in the affairs of men, though approaching more nearly than any other to our idea of a Supreme God.[1] In the second place, we have the spirits of the sky, the *Kungumi*, dwelling up aloft but far

[1] Some locate Him in *all* the space that is between heaven and earth, and I have heard a Sema attribute to Him the quality of omnipresence, even if not of absolute infinity, though the Sema in question was not educated or even semi-christianised.

from aloof, so far so that, if ancient legends may be believed, they have more than once formed unions with mortals, taking wives from the daughters of men like the sons of God in Hebrew tradition, or taking, like Lilith, a mortal husband. In story they take very much the place that the fairy princes, princesses, and godmothers good and bad filled in the fairy tales of our childhood, except that their abode is definitely located in the sky, and Christianity has not yet interfered to cast them out of heaven. The third class, the *Teghāmi*, the spirits most in touch with man, are spirits of earth, which they inhabit, the true earth-spirits of the occultist, often deliberately harmful, beneficent only when propitiated, though there is perhaps a tendency for purely maleficent spirits to take on, as a result of the habit of propitiation, the attributes of beneficent deities. Thus can man make him good gods from bad. However, even at their best the *teghami* seem still to consist in a rather malicious sort of pixie, and pictish, indeed, the *teghami* possibly may really be by origin, if *teghami* means, as it appears to do, "Jungle-men." And there are several Naga traditions of little wild men or spirits of the woods having been found and caught and tamed,[1] and these are always spoken of by the Sema as *teghami*, just as *teghashi* is, game jungle flesh (as opposed to *tikishi*, house flesh or domestic animals) <*agha* = jungle, wild. This derivation cannot, however, be unreservedly accepted, as the Angami equivalent of *teghami* (which is *terhoma*) does not appear to have any linguistic connection at all with the Angami word for jungle (*nha*), though clearly the same word as the Sema *teghami* (*R* in Angami regularly becomes *GH* in Sema). In any case the *teghami* include the spirits of the forest, who are often heard

[1] Certain Angami and Lhota clans or kindreds claim descent from such persons. A Phom clan is likewise descended from a woman of the same sort who was found in a cave. In 1914 a Konyak village was reported to have actually caught a jungle spirit in a snare and to have killed it and thrown its body away.

For the comparative positions of men and spirits see also the story of "The Dog's Share" in Part VI, where the *teghami* is made to admit that man (*timi*) is greater than he. This would be quite natural if the *teghami* were an aboriginal of inferior development, even though he were credited with certain magical powers.

though not seen. Now and then someone claims to have seen them ; little men they look like, but usually they are only heard calling to one another in the jungle just as men call, and sometimes quite close, but on searching for the caller there is no one to be found.

The *teghami* too, though generally spirits of the wild, must probably be held to include the *aghau*. These are spirits attached to individuals and houses, and perhaps villages, though it is difficult to obtain a precise description, and probably no very definite conception of *aghau* as distinct from *teghami* in general is formed at all. Generally speaking, however, the *aghau* is a personal familiar, the Angami equivalent being *ropfü*. Whether all persons have *aghau* is a point which the writer has not been able to determine, and apparently opinions differ on the subject ; but perhaps it may be said that all persons are potentially possessed of *aghau*, though the existence of an *aghau* is not always apparent. The idea of fate or destiny is very often attached to *aghau*, but one also hears of it as a δαίμων or familiar inclined to be malignant, and in some aspect it appears almost as a soul. The *aghau* is also a house spirit, and as such it is occasionally seen by men going suddenly into an empty house, who get a glimpse of a being not unlike a monkey or an ape, which quickly disappears. It is related that once a man went to the empty house of his friend and dipped for drink in the liquor vat. His friend's *aghau*, though invisible, caught the hand by the wrist and held the marauder there till the owner of the house returned in the evening and released him.[1] When a man migrates he scatters bits of meat on the ground behind him to induce his *aghau* to go with him, telling it that no one else will cherish it and feed it. A friend of the writer's has a dozen *aghau*, though he rarely sees them. Six are like apes and six like human beings. They belong to the family and attach themselves to the richest member of it. When paying a visit to his house it is desirable to be very particular in blowing off the froth from your rice-beer, as this blows away any

[1] Mr. J. P. Mills told me of a Lhota who was caught by the ankle by a spirit of this sort near his village (Rechyim) and died the same year.

spirits that may be lingering on it.[1] The same Sema, Hezekhu of Sheyepu, attributes to his *aghau* an unpleasant omen of death that is known by the discovery of wet patches of blood on his cloth when he wakes in the morning. The writer has seen them himself.

To return to *Alhōu* and the *Kungumi*. *Alhou* (= "the Creator") is the name used to translate in the Assamese "Ishwar," God the Supreme Deity and Creator,[2] and *Alhou* is certainly regarded as such by the Semas. Omniscience and omnipotence and even omnipresence are vaguely ascribed to Him, and though He is remote and inaccessible, He seems to be all-good as well as almighty and all-knowing. His alternative name, *Timilhou*, would seem to be given Him specifically as the Creator of men (*timi*). The general attitude towards Him, however, may be gathered from the following experience of the writer, who was asked by a Sema villager to write a letter for him in which he said "by the grace of the *Kungumi* I am well." On being asked why the *Kungumi* were responsible for his welfare and whether *Alhou* should not be substituted, he replied, "No, *Alhou* is different; He would do me no harm —it is by the favour of *Kungumi* I am well." On the other hand, *Alhou* is the supreme dispenser of good and evil, and it is He who makes men rich or poor. There is a story of two men who died on the same day and were wending their way to the land of the dead. One was rich and was taking many mithan, and the other poor and with nothing but a basket and dish. When the mithan saw the poor man they ran aside on a different path. The rich man abused the poor man, asking what such a miserable creature was doing driving his mithan. The poor man replied that he could not help his condition as it was due to the will of *Alhou*, whereon the rich man boasted that he had become so by his own efforts. On this *Alhou* drove them back to their village, where they came to life again, but in their second

[1] See above, p. 99.

[2] *Alhōu* >root, *lho* = "to create." The Sema Creator is almost certainly to be identified with the Kachari Creator *Alow* (Soppitt, *op. cit.*, p. 29).

sojourn on earth the poor man became rich and the rich man very poor, wherefore the Semas hold that it is *Alhou* who ordains man's worldly lot.

If it were at all in keeping with the Sema's mentality to form abstract ideas, one would almost put down *Alhou* as an abstraction, but the *Kungumi* are material and active beings. Two stories given later on (in Part VI) indicate to some extent the conception that is formed of them, and though their bodies or their visible forms are regarded as outwardly perfect, their activities might conceivably on occasion prove injurious to men; thus the rainbow (*Milesü*) is called *kungumi-pukhu* (= *kungumi's* leg), and the place where it touches earth is always a spot where some sacrifice has been made for the fields and crops; but should it fall inside a village, the death in war of one of the inhabitants is imminent and certain.

When we come to the *Teghami* we find a tendency to specialise certain named and definite spirits as having definite functions, and while it is probable that from village to village many varieties may be found of the spirits with specialised functions, there are some *teghami* whose specialised functions seem recognised by all Semas. *Litsaba*, *Shikyepu*, and *Muzamuza* are probably instances, as, even if not universally recognised by Semas under these names, they are recognised under them throughout by far the greater part of the tribe.

Kichimiya or *Litsaba* (or *Latsapa*), though regarded by some (*e.g.*, the Southern Zumomi) as of the *Kungumi*, is more often held to be the most important of the *Teghami*, as he is apparently the spirit of fruitfulness and gives the crops.[1] He does not seem to be in any way identified with the corn itself,[2] but is usually recognised as being responsible for its increase, and must always be propitiated in order to obtain good crops, though this may be because he is liable

[1] According to Dr. Clark, *Lizaba*, the principal Ao deity and the counterpart of the Sema *Kichimiya*, is the chief deity on earth as opposed to *Lunkizingba* in heaven and *Mozing* in the abodes of the dead. *Lizaba* may mean "earth walker" or "earth-maker." See Dr. Clark's Ao-Naga Dictionary under "*Lizaba*," Calcutta, Baptist Mission Press, 1911.

[2] The last sheaf *aghaghubo* (see above, p. 64) does not seem to be particularly associated with *Litsaba*.

to visit the earth in the form of a whirlwind and spoil them. With him is in some way associated the toad—*Thoghopu*, who is said to be his "friend." It is difficult to make out exactly what this association is, but it appears in Angami practice also, for they set apart a special day for giving the toad his share, *Thewüukukwü*, at one of the less important harvest gennas and associate the toad with the mouse as entitled to have a share of the crop; but in other parts of the world toads have been associated both with the obtaining of rain[1] and with the prevention of storms,[2] and it is far from unlikely that the Sema association of the toad with the spirit responsible for the harvest is the result of some association of the toad with rain or storm, in which case it is probable that the conception of *Latsapa* as a whirlwind is the original one now being ousted by a conception of *Latsapa* as a spirit of fertility and beneficent rather than maleficent. In this connection it may be mentioned that the stone celts found by the Semas, and always regarded as thunderbolts, are called *Poghopu-* (or *Thoghopu-*) *moghü*, *i.e.*, toad's axes. Other Naga tribes call them simply "god-axes," and though it is just possible that *Thoghopu-moghü* is simply a euphemism for *teghami-moghü*, a theory which was attested by one intelligent Sema of the writer's acquaintance, the inference may not unfairly be drawn that this word for what is believed to be a thunderbolt is an indication of the association in the Sema mind between the toad and thunderstorms.[3]

Kichímiya is probably the genuine Sema name for this spirit and *Litsaba* of non-Sema origin, and is probably adopted from the Sangtams, from whom the Semas undoubtedly took much of their ceremonial practice. The name is virtually the same as that of the corresponding Sangtam,

[1] "The Golden Bough" (3rd ed.), vol. i, p. 292.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 325.

[3] According to some the toad is associated with *Alhou* rather than with *Latsapa*. The people of Kon-Memey in Cochin-China believe that the soul of a former chief entered into a toad and in this form watches over the rice-fields and ensures a good crop provided he is propitiated by offerings of pigs, chickens, and millet-beer. See "The Golden Bough" (3rd ed.), vol. viii, p. 291.

Ao, and Lhota spirit, but the use of it among Semas is perhaps more common than that of *Kichimiya*.

Litsōwo is a spirit who lies in wait to catch and devour the souls of the dead on their way to their long home.[1] This spirit, however, is also known as *Kolavo*, which is the name given him by the southern Zumomi.

Shikyepu (? = "Game-allotter") is the spirit who presides over all wild animals, and it is by his favour only that men are successful in hunting. Whatever game they take is given by him.

Mūzāmūzā, Echo, is no attractive nymph, but a malicious spirit of the woods who leads men astray in the jungle.[2] Anyone who is lost in the forest is taken by *Muzamuza*, who sometimes causes them to disappear entirely, and sometimes drives them permanently or temporarily mad. Either way it is the ruination of them, for even if they recover from their madness they are not the same men again that they were before. A man who merely loses his way in the jungle cuts off a bit of the fringe of his cloth and sticks it in a tree. This apparently satisfies the spirit, for after this the lost man finds his way home. The Changs in similar circumstances cut off a bit of hair and put it on a fork of a tree for the rock python that has bedevilled them. *Muzamuza* makes a man do all sorts of unpleasant things —eat worms, for instance, make and wear a necklace of huge worms, or put them in his ears. He makes a man think the level ground the brink of a precipice and go hesitating in fear and trembling lest he fall over; or again a cliff appears level ground so that he runs up it—or falls over it. The searcher for a man taken by *Muzamuza* lets go a chicken into the jungle and sings "*Muzamuza!* Show me where So-and-so is!" and so goes on his search singing thus.[3] The finder of the lost man becomes rich in

[1] See p. 212. [2] Like the "Fodheen Mara" in Galway.

[3] There is a form of song in many villages which is always used and runs thus:

Muzamuza-no Taloli sao; awu pheni, Taloli phelo!

i.e., "Muzamuza took Taloli; I am letting go a fowl, let Taloli go!" Taloli is said to have been a woman of Zhekiya village formerly lost and recovered

worldly goods. Vutahe, of Sakhalu's village, was lost in this way and found. Similarly, a man of the same village named Kocheke was transported by *Muzamuza* to a distant place—how, he cannot say, but he was eventually found.

Tegha-aghüzuwu is the delirium spirit (a literal translation), who makes man delirious or mad.

Aphowo is a spirit propitiated in alternate years at harvest. Possibly he is in some way connected with the practice of cultivating a cleared field for two years in succession and then leaving it to go back to jungle, but this is a purely speculative suggestion.

Tegha-kesa, "the bad spirit," is a spoiler of crops in particular and a mischief-maker generally.

Kukwobolitomi [1] are spirits who destroy children in the womb and cause miscarriage.

Loselonitomi [1] are malicious spirits or familiars who, like Eris, breed strife between friends and quarrels in the household.

Kitimi, dead men, are the spirits of the dead, who are regarded as coming to fetch the living when they die, and sometimes therefore as responsible for death, a dead man being said to have been taken by the *Kitimi*.

The disposition of *teghami* in general differs little from that of the faeries in our own folk-tales. In spite of all their supernatural qualities they are very easily deceived, and their malicious activities can be met by very simple guile, as, for instance, when the *Awōu* gives out the wrong day as the date for the *Sage* genna in public, though everyone knows that it is the wrong day except the spirits whose malice is feared.

The *teghami* need much propitiation, and are very apt to be annoyed by the abandonment of ancient customs, which is not perhaps entirely unnatural, as by the abandonment of a custom they usually lose offerings of some sort. Thus when the harvest has been bad a "Morung" is sometimes built, as has already been mentioned, to fulfil no other purpose than obedience to a custom the lapse of which has

[1] My informant spoke of these two as individual spirits in the singular, but the form of the words is clearly collective.

conceivably angered the spirits. Again a village which has for years lived under the protection of the *Pax Britannica* continues to make an occasional pretence at erecting defences and the accompanying ceremony, as this is believed to propitiate the spirits, who certainly receive some sort of offering on that occasion. At the same time they are a timid crew and may be frightened from molesting men on the march by singing and shouting, a notion which may have something to do with the incessant "ho, ho"-ing kept up by a Sema working or carrying a load. They are also easily kept at a distance by a sprig of wormwood and are generally very sensitive to strong or unpleasant odours.[1] The *teghami* generally have the dispositions of the more unpleasant of humans, and if they have many human instincts this is not to be wondered at, for the *teghami*, the tiger, and the man were the three sons of one mother originally.[2] The *kungumi* are distinctly superior in all ways to the general run of *teghami*. The *aghau* too, though often quite harmless or even beneficent guardians of the individual with whom they are associated, are in some cases most obnoxious, causing a man to run amok and to commit various offences which bring on his head the wrath of the community. At the same time, it seems to be the *aghau* which give gifts of prophecy and dreaming of future events, and of the power of extracting foreign bodies from sick men and of witchcraft generally.

The Soul.

The Sema word for "soul," *aghongu*, is the same as the word for "shadow" and the word for "reflection" and the word for any likeness or image, and at times the soul is probably still confused with the shadow cast by a man or an animal or object, for it follows that if the shadow be the soul the possession of a soul is not confined to human or even animate beings. The more intelligent, however, though applying the word for shadow to the soul, probably do not really confuse the two any more than they would confuse with the soul the wooden image that might be made of a man. Nor do most of them object to being photo-

[1] *E.g.*, garlic, ginger, lemon-grass. [2] See Part VI.

graphed, though the daughter of the Chief of Philimi was in much trepidation, and was with difficulty reassured that the writer had not deprived her of her soul when he took the photograph reproduced in this volume. She was only really satisfied when it was given back to her to keep in the form of a print. Probably connected with the association of soul and shadow is the fear that the soul may be left behind or lost, or may go straying off on its own account. Thus if a Sema away from home build a temporary shelter, he will always burn it when he leaves it, for fear it should take the errant fancy of his soul, which might linger behind or leave him in his sleep to return to his temporary habitation. It is the same conception of the soul which prompts the Sema when migrating to make a hole in the roof of his house just above his bed in order that his *aghongu* may find its way out and accompany him to his new village. In the same way a Sema who is sick goes to the fields to call his soul, whose desertion of the body may be the cause of the illness. The sick man takes a chicken or a dog, kills it, and sets aside a share for his *aghongu*. He calls loudly on his own name. He then returns very slowly home. His soul follows, but may easily be frightened away again, and the writer had to adjudicate upon a case in which a malicious fellow laid in wait for an acquaintance who had gone to the fields to call his soul. As he passed on his way home, the one in ambush leapt out suddenly, beat the ground just behind the passer, and shouted aloud. The frightened soul which had been following its body fled again, and the unfortunate body, deprived of its soul, died a few days later.

The separative nature of the soul may also be inferred from the danger which the soul of a man who has recently killed a tiger is in if he sleep sound at night, though as long as he keeps lightly and wakefully on an uncomfortable bamboo bed the soul of the dead beast can do him no harm.

Involved in this separable aspect of the soul is the theory and practice of lycanthropy among the Semas, though the animal identified with the practice is usually a leopard,

sometimes a tiger. The beast which is thus connected with a human being, and the recipient, at any rate temporarily, of his soul, may be recognised by having five toes instead of four, and the dew-claw is often taken as evidence of a dead animal's having been a were-leopard or tiger. A casual power of a human who is a were-leopard is said to be the ability to lift water in a basket with a large open mesh such as chickens are carried in.

Many Semas are, or have been in their younger days, confirmed lycanthropists. The theory and symptoms are clear and recognisable, and, differing from lycanthropists in most parts of the world, the Sema undergoes no physical transformation whatever. The "possession," if we may term it so, is not induced by any external aid, but ordinarily comes on at the bidding of spirits which may not be gainsaid and under whose influence the man possessed entirely loses his own volition in the matter. The faculty can, however, be acquired by very close and intimate association with some lycanthropist, sleeping in the same bed with him, eating from the same dish with him, and never leaving his side for a considerable period—two months is said to be the shortest time in which the faculty can be acquired in this way. It can also be acquired, according to some, by being fed by a lycanthropist with chicken flesh and ginger, which is given in successive collections of six, five, and three pieces of each together on crossed pieces of plantain leaf. It is dangerous, too, to eat food or drink that a lycanthropist has left unfinished, as the habit may thus be unwittingly acquired. The animal of the body of which the lycanthropist makes use, though sometimes the tiger proper (*abolangshu*), is usually a leopard and is known as *angshu amiki*, a word which is said to be derived from the verb *kemiki*—meaning to wander alone in the jungle for days together, as men who do this are most liable to possession. It may be observed, however, that the root *miki* also means "to bite."[1] Cowardly and worthless men, if they acquire the habit, make use of the body of a red cat (*angshu-akinu*, *? Felis aurata*). The habit is very far from desired. No one wants to be possessed

[1] Incidentally it also means "to tell lies."

by the habit, and it is, on the contrary, feared as a source of danger and a great weariness to the flesh.

The soul usually enters into the leopard during sleep and returns to the human body with daylight, but it may remain in the leopard for several days at a time, in which case the human body, though conscious, is lethargic. It (*i.e.* the human body) goes to the fields and follows the usual routine of life, but is not able to communicate intelligibly, or at any rate intelligently, with other persons until the possession expires for the time being. The soul, however, is more or less conscious of its experiences in leopard form and can to some extent remember and relate them when it has returned to its human consciousness. During sleep the soul is the leopard with its full faculties, but when the human body is wide awake the soul is only semiconsciously, if at all, aware of its doings as a leopard, unless under the influence of some violent emotion, such as fear, experienced by the leopard.

The possession is accompanied by very severe pains and swellings in the knees, elbows, and small of the back in the human body, both during and consequent on the possession. These pains are such as would result from far and continuous marching or from remaining for long periods in an unaccustomed position. During sleep at the time of possession the limbs move convulsively, as the legs of a dog move when it is dreaming. A were-leopard of the Tizu valley in a paroxysm at such a time bit one of his wife's breasts off. When the leopard is being hunted by men, the human body behaves like a lunatic, leaping and throwing itself about in its efforts to escape. Under these circumstances the relatives of the were-leopard feed him up with ginger as fast as possible in order to make him more active, so that the leopard body, on which his life depends, may have the agility to escape its pursuers.

Were-leopards are particularly liable to possession between the expiry of the old and the rising of the new moon. Those possessed are liable to a special sort of disease which is believed to attack tigers and leopards generally, but no human beings except were-leopards. When the leopard is

wounded, corresponding wounds appear upon the human body of the were-leopard, and when the leopard is killed the human body dies also. It is, however, possible apparently for the soul to throw off the possession permanently as old age is approached. The father of Inato, Chief of Lumitsami, got rid of the habit by touching the flesh of a leopard. The village had killed one and he carried home the head. After that he naturally could no longer associate with the leopard kind. It is generally held, and doubtless not without some substratum of truth, that a man under the influence of the possession can be quieted by feeding him with chicken dung. Probably this produces nausea.

Possession is not confined to men. Women also become were-leopards and are far more destructive as such than men are. Of men, those who have taken heads are most dangerous, and are believed to kill as many men as leopards or tigers as they have done as warriors.

The actions of the leopard's body and of the human body of the were-leopard are closely associated. As has been noticed, if the human limbs are confined the leopard's freedom of action is constricted, and troublesome were-leopards are said to be sometimes destroyed in this way.[1]

Almost all this information as to were-leopards was obtained first hand from were-leopards themselves. Unfortunately, the writer has not so far succeeded in seeing a

[1] On one occasion the elders of a large Ao village (Ungma) came to me for permission to tie up a certain man in the village while they hunted a leopard which had been giving a great deal of trouble. The man in question, who was, by the way, a Christian convert, also appeared to protest against the action of the village elders. He said that he was very sorry that he was a were-leopard, he didn't want to be one, and it was not his fault, but seeing that he was one he supposed that his leopard body must kill to eat, and if it did not both the leopard and himself would die. He said that if he were tied up the leopard would certainly be killed and he would die. To tie him up and hunt the leopard was, he said, sheer murder. In the end I gave leave to the elders to tie the man up and hunt the leopard, but told them that if the man died as a result of killing the leopard, whoever had speared the leopard would of course be tried and no doubt hanged for murder, and the elders committed for abetment of the same. On this the elders unanimously refused to take advantage of my permission to tie up the man. I was sorry for this, though I had foreseen it, as it would have been an interesting experiment.

man actually at the moment of possession. He has, however, had the marks of wounds shown him by men who claimed that they were the result of wounds inflicted on their leopard bodies. Kiyezu of Nikoto, now chief of Kiyezu-nagami, who used to be a were-leopard in his youth, can show the marks on the front and the back of his leg above the knee where he had been shot, as a leopard, long ago by a sepoy of the Military Police outpost at Wokha with a Martini rifle. Zukiya of Kulhopu village showed fairly fresh marks about his waist which he said were two months old and caused by shot which had hit his leopard body, and the marks looked as though they might have been caused by shot. Ghokwi, the chief of Zukiya's village, said that Zukiya was in the habit of pointing out the remains of pigs and dogs killed by him in leopard form so that their owners might gather up what remained.[1] He said that he had had a quarrel with his brother, one of whose pigs he had killed and eaten by accident. Ghokwi mentioned the names of various people whose animals Zukiya had killed and eaten.[2] Sakhuto, Chief of Khuivi, showed a wound in his back which was quite new on March 1, 1913, which he said was the result of someone's having shot at him when he was in leopard form. The wound in the human body does not, under such circumstances, appear at once. It affects the

[1] While correcting the proofs (February, 1921) the following case has occurred :—

Zhetoi of Sheyepu has become a were-leopard and eaten a number of animals of his own village and the neighbouring village of Sakhalu, including two of Sakhalu's dogs. In one case in his own village he told the owner of a mithan calf that he would find the uneaten part of his calf stuck high in the fork of a tree in a certain place, which proved absolutely correct. Sakhalu village one day succeeded in rounding up the leopard that had been raiding the village stock, but an urgent messenger came running from Sheyepu imploring Sakhalu to let the leopard they had ringed go, as if they killed it Zhetoi would die. After this Sakhalu late one evening shot at a leopard behind his granary in the dusk. Very early next morning a message came from Sheyepu to say that Zhetoi had been shot at the night before by Sakhalu and would he kindly forbear. I had this account independently from two sources, one of which came from Sheyepu, while the other was Sakhalu himself, who says that he will certainly shoot the leopard if he can next time.

[2] According to some a were-leopard who kills cattle may be found in the morning to have bits of their flesh sticking to his teeth.

place in the human body corresponding to the place of the original wound on the leopard, but takes several days to appear. In March, 1919, an Angami interpreter, Resopu of Cheswezuma, then working with the writer, wounded a large tiger near Melomi. Three or four days later the Head Interpreter of the Deputy Commissioner's staff, a well-known Angami, Nihu of Kohima, happened to meet a sick Sema road muharrir, Saiyi of Zumethi, being carried home. The man, who was employed near Melomi, complained of having had an accident, but on being pressed several times for details admitted that he had no external injury that could be seen, but was suffering from the effects of the wounds inflicted by Resopu on his tiger form, having very severe pains in his neck or shoulder and abdomen and being haunted by the horrid smell of rotten flesh.[1] The writer has known a large number of Semas who are or claim to be were-leopards or were-tigers. The headman of Chipoketami is one; Chekiye, Chief of Aichi-Sagami, is another; Inaho, Chief of Melahomi,[2] is the most notorious perhaps. Gwovishe of Tsukohomi and his daughter Sukheli are only known to him by repute, Gwovishe's son, Chekiye of Lukammi, more intimately. Kusheli of Litsammi, a second woman were-leopard, has her home inside the frontier, and a most unenviable reputation. The Sakhuto above mentioned died on July 19, 1916, as a result of the leopard which was occupied by his *aghongu* having been shot by Sakhalu of Sakhalu on June 30 of that year. It was reported to the writer on July 4 that Sakhalu had shot a were-leopard, but it was then believed to be identical with Khozhumo of Kukishe, and it was expected that he would die when the news reached him, as the death of the man concerned does not actually take place till he hears that his leopard body has been killed. The son of Yemithi of Lizotomi, whose leopard-cat body was killed at Sagami, heard the news as he was returning to his village and expired on the

[1] Ultimately he died in Kohima owing, it is said, to the putrefaction of his internal injuries.

[2] The same man referred to in Part I, p. 27.

spot for no other reason. A curious example of the power of the Sema mind over the Sema body.

Both Inato of Lumitsami and Inaho of Melahomi related to the writer independently how, when they were going up together from Phusumi to Lotesami, Inato managed to persuade Inaho to show himself in his tiger body. The latter lingered for a moment behind, and suddenly a huge tiger jumped out on the path in front of Inato with a roar and an angry waving of his tail. In a flash Inato had raised his gun, but the tiger-Inaho jumped in time to avoid the shot and disappeared. Since this Inaho has had an excellent excuse for refusing to show himself in tiger form to anyone at all.

It is also told of Kusheli of Litsammi that she cured her husband of making sceptical and impertinent references to her lycanthropic peregrinations by appearing before him in leopard form. His name is Yemunga, and he was returning from a business deal in Chatongbong when suddenly he saw a leopard blocking the path. Guessing it was his wife, he laughed at it and told it to go away. It went on and blocked the path a little further ahead. This time he threatened to spear it and it slid off into the jungle only to reappear behind him unexpectedly with a sudden growl. This frightened him and he ran home as fast as he could, the leopard pursuing till near the village, where it disappeared. When he entered his house his wife at once started to mock him, asking why he was perspiring so and whether he had seen a leopard.

The Sema were-tiger, or reputed were-tiger, with whom the writer was best acquainted was Chekiye, Chief of Lukammi and a son of the famous Gwovishe of Tsukohomi. He would never admit to the writer that he was a lycanthropist, but none of his Sema acquaintances ever doubted but that his reputation was well deserved.[1] He came nearest to admitting to the writer that he was a were-tiger on the occasion of a tiger hunt in which the writer took part at Mokokchung on March 29, 1916. Ungma village ringed

[1] Except Vikhepu, who caught him out on one occasion in a pure and demonstrable romance.

some tiger—there were certainly two full-grown animals and two three-quarter-grown cubs present. The old tiger himself broke out early in the beat, mauling a man on his way, shortly after which Chekiye turned up, armed with a spear, but no shield. The tigress broke near him and came within a few feet of him, bit and mauled his next-door neighbour, and went in again. Chekiye, when remonstrated with for having stood quietly by and not having speared the animal, said, "I did not like to spear her as I thought she was probably a friend of mine." After she had been shot he pronounced that she was a lady of Murromi, a trans-frontier village somewhere (if it exists at all) to the east of the Tukomi Sangtams, where all the population are believed to be tiger-men. He also explained that the tiger in a beat was really far more frightened than even the hunters themselves, which is probably true enough, and shrewdly observed that the use of the tail, which is stiffened up and out behind and swayed at the end from side to side, is to make the grass wave *behind* the moving tiger so that the position of the tiger's body is mistaken and the aim disturbed accordingly, an observation which seems to be at least true of the result of the waving tail. It was reported that he claimed in private to be identical with the tiger that first escaped, but he would not admit this to the writer, and there was indeed another and more likely candidate to this rather doubtful honour.[1]

[1] This was an Ao named Imtong-lippa of Changki. While this beat was going on three miles away, he was behaving like a lunatic in the house of one of the hospital servants at Mokokchung. During his possession he identified himself with one of the tigers being hunted and stated that one of them was wounded and speared; that he himself was hit with a stick (the Ao method of beating entailed the throwing of sticks and stones and abuse incessantly to make the tiger come out). He laid a rolled mat to represent a fence and six times leapt across it. He ate ginger and drank a whole bamboo "chunga" (about a small bucketful) of water, after which he said that he had escaped with three other tigers after crossing a stream, and was hiding in a hole, but that one tigress, a trans-frontier woman, had been speared in the side (in point of fact she was speared in the neck) and had been left behind and would die. (We shot her in the end.) He said there were four tigers surrounded. Chekiye said six. Four actually were seen, however, two grown and two half or three-quarters grown. There *may* have been others, but it is not very

In connection with were-leopards and were-tigers it must not be forgotten that a common origin is claimed for men and tigers (which includes leopards) by all the Nagas of, at any rate, the western group. The story of the man, the spirit, and the tiger, three children of one mother, is given below (Part VI), and it may be added that when an Angami village kills a tiger or a leopard the *Kemovo* proclaims a non-working day for the death of an "elder brother." The flesh of tigers and leopards is often eaten by Angamis (men only and under certain restrictions), that of leopards (never of tiger) by the Changs, but the Sema would not dream of eating either. It is absolutely genna to touch it, and most Sema villages, if they kill a tiger or a leopard, leave the body to rot where it lies, though the head may be taken and brought back to the village. The fear of tiger among all Nagas is considerable, and they all regard them as beings apart from the ordinary wild animals and very nearly connected with the human race. Thus a man who is descended from one who was killed by a tiger will not eat meat from a tiger's kill, as it would be equivalent to sharing the dish of an hereditary enemy.

It has been shown that the soul may be conceived of as a shadow, and that it is separable from the body, and may occupy the body of a leopard or a tiger during life, in addition to its habitation in the human body, leading, in fact, a sort of dual existence. After death, however, it may sometimes take the form of a particular hawk, probably a kestrel, in which the soul flies away to the Hill of the Dead at Wokha or to that called Naruto. To demonstrate the truth of this belief an account was given to the writer in June, 1915, of an occurrence then a fortnight old at Lumitsami. A man named Ikishe of that village had just lost his son, a child ; and after the boy had died, a hawk of the species mentioned flew down to the house where he lived and, after alighting on a mithan skull on the gable, descended to rest on the bosom of the mother herself and

likely. Some sixteen cattle had been killed in two days. This account I took down after returning from the beat, on the same day, from an eye-witness of Imtong-lippa's exhibition.

allowed itself to be fondled by her, and when handed to others repeatedly returned to the mother's breasts. After about an hour it took wing and flew off in the direction of Wokha. After this one could not very well ask for more convincing evidence in support of the theory in question. The return of the soul in this way, however, instead of going straight to the Wokha Hill, was regarded as most unlucky, and the whole village observed a genna.

The appearance of the soul in the form of a hawk, however, is only for the purpose of its journey to the Hill of the Dead, and the soul of the dead is not permanently embodied in the kestrel form. This much is quite clear, though otherwise the eschatology of the Sema is a little mixed. It is well known that death is caused by the soul's leaving the body, more or less, it would seem, at the former's own desire. Thus when a man is even unconscious from any cause or when he is seen to be dying, he is held up in a sitting posture, and two persons, by preference those with the strongest lungs, bawl into the dying man's ears, one into one ear, the other into the other ear; one yells the name only of the dying man, the other "o-o-o-o"—in the manner of a man calling from a distance to attract the attention of another. Meanwhile a third takes a piece of smouldering wood from the fire and applies it to a piece of cotton wool held under the dying man's nose; he then blows the smoke from the cotton wool up the nostrils to make the patient sneeze. The dying man is kept sitting up and made to drink liquor or water unless he is obviously dead, in which case he is allowed to fall back and covered with a cloth. Meanwhile all present are crying and howling, and as long as there is life in him are reasoning with the dying man, telling him it is better to live, and asking why he behaves in this untoward way. It seems clear from this procedure that the soul can perhaps be induced to remain in the body if convinced of its folly in leaving it. On one occasion the writer saw the eyes of the corpse carefully closed and the lips compressed and held together for a long time, as though to prevent the dead man's soul from escaping.

When, however, the soul has left the body it does not immediately depart from the neighbourhood. Warriors who are returning from a raid with heads or any fragment of flesh must throw aside a bit of food for the ghost when they eat, otherwise they cannot eat without dropping food. The same belief is shown in the fragments of meat put out for the souls or ghosts of the dead enemies by the victor when doing his genna (Part III, p. 176). It may be that the soul (*aghongu*) transfers its habitation to the less material ghost (*kitimi*, ? = dead man), but Sema thought on these points is very vague. The ghost (*kitimi*) seems simply to be a more or less concrete manifestation of the soul (*aghongu*). The writer on one occasion, when visiting a Sema village, was accommodated in an empty house the owner of which was temporarily away. As it was very hot he had the matting forming the wall at one end removed. The owner, who returned that evening, was highly indignant, as the opening of his house and the removal of part of the walling must certainly have caused the soul of his wife to depart. She had been dead for several days, and usually, apparently, the soul or ghost only stays for about three,[1] but in this case the bereaved husband had shut up the house in the hopes of delaying its departure. It is possible, too, that this idea of the staying behind of the soul in the house that the body inhabited underlies the prohibition, which a dying husband sometimes makes, against the abandonment of the house by his widows for a given time after his death. It seems fairly common for dying men to direct their relicts

[1] The ghost of a tiger seems to stay for six days if an inference may be drawn from the period of the genna mentioned in Part II for killing one. The Changs believe in a ghost, *sou*, which is quite distinct from the soul, *yimpuh*. The latter goes straight to the next world, while the ghost stays on for a few days or even a month, whimpering about its old haunts, and then expires like the body. Some Semas also appear to have this belief, which they may have picked up from the Yachungr, who have a good deal of intercourse with both Semas and Changs, but I am doubtful as to its being held generally by the Sema tribe, with most of whom the "soul" and the "ghost" of the dead, if not regarded as identical, are at any rate not separated by any clear discrimination of thought and classification leading to the use of different names as in the case of the Changs. The expression used by the Sema for the ghost of the newly-killed, etc., is simply *kitimi*, a dead man.

to cherish their memory for perhaps a year, living in their original house and making them benefit in some way conditionally on their observing such an injunction. Such a condition, however, is rarely regarded as very serious. Inato of Lumitsami directed that his wives should remain in the house for three years after his death; but they were remarried in less than a year, and were not penalised by Inato's relations as he had directed. The insistence on a three years' widowhood, during which they were to be of exemplary behaviour, was much criticised as being quite unreasonable.

Eschatology.

The views of what happens to the soul when it does take its final departure from its former habitations are not very consistent. One account says vaguely that the good souls go to the east towards the rising of the sun, while the bad ones go westward to its setting;[1] another that souls go into butterflies or other insects, a common Naga belief; but the commonest and best-known theory, the holding of which, however, does not apparently preclude belief in one or both of the other, is that the souls go to the Hills of the Dead, and from there pass into another world, sometimes conceived of as celestial, more often as subterranean, where they continue to exist much as they did in their mortal lives. With them they take those of their worldly possessions (or the "souls" of them) that have been buried with them or placed on their graves, and all the mithans they have sacrificed or killed during life accompany them. The writer has also known a chief nearing his end ask for a new Government red cloth, which is issued as a badge of office, in order that when he reached the world beyond the grave he might be recognised at once as a servant of Government and treated accordingly with becoming respect. As for the mountain of the dead, there are at least two. The Semas of the Tizu valley place it at the hill Naruto near Sagami, while the majority identify it as the Wokha mountain. Both from certain points of view are roughly sugges-

[1] The Changs, too, place much virtue in the rising sun, but regard the setting sun as bad. Garo souls go to the hill Chikmang. Playfair, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

tive of a series of steps culminating in a peak, and the location of *Alhou* and the *kungumi* in the sky (just as the Angami place *Upekenopfü* there) suggests that the Sema conception of the location of Heaven is not far removed from our own, and the step-like slope of the Wokha mountain may be connected with the idea of the Angamis' attempt to get up there by a tower containing a ladder, which all ended in babel and a dispersion abroad. The Wokha mountain has white strata visibly running along on the Sema side of the cliff. This is known as "Dead man's Path," *Kitila*, and it runs along the face of the cliff, but other accounts make the route followed by the dead go along the ridge of the mountain that rises as by steps from near Koio village to the summit. The eastward face, which the Semas see from all the villages between the Dayang and the top of the range just west of the Tizu, is a precipice, and the summit in the rains is usually capped with cloud.

When the dead man reaches the land of the dead, wherever that is, he goes to his own village, of which there is presumably a ghostly reproduction, and lives just as he did in this life, after presenting the chief of the village with a chicken which he takes with him for the purpose. Before, however, he reaches that land he must pass by the house of the spirit *Litsowo* or *Kolavo*, which is alongside the Road of the Dead. This spirit seizes and devours the souls of the unwary,[1] and perhaps for this reason a man takes his spear and shield to the grave, and a young boy is not buried without a sharpened bamboo. A woman apparently is left to elude him as best she can by cheating him, but it seems to be only the weakly and foolish souls which he is able to catch, as he is easily induced by a subterfuge to leave the road open so that the soul may slip by.[2]

Once in that long home the Sema dead lives just as he did in this world. He that is poor shall be poor still, and he that has been rich shall remain so. But though this belief holds but cold comfort for those who are poor and

[1] Like the Angami "*Metsimo*," Lhota "*Echlivanthano*," Chang "*Ujingkaklak*," and Garo "*Nawang*," all of whom perform the same function.

[2] *Vide infra*, under Death Ceremonies.

in misery, the Sema has it at least to his credit that he has not, with the detestable self-sufficiency of the purblind West, fatuously arrogated to man alone of animals the possession of a soul and the power of reasoning. It probably remains for the Christian missionaries to teach him that.

Religious ceremonies as practised by the Semas at present are propitiatory rather than magical. It is not an unreasonable supposition that they were magical ceremonies originally and intended to control the operations of Nature, but they would seem now to have reached a stage at which the magical intention has disappeared, and the ceremony is performed partly in the belief that to omit it would be displeasing to the spirits and partly with the direct object of pleasing them by offerings. Magic.

That is not to say that magic is not practised, but the practice of it is a thing apart from the regular propitiation of the spirits. Magical rites are occasionally practised by the village, as in the case of the proceedings for the production of rain, which are magic in its purest form, though it is doubtful whether the actors any longer see it in this light, and the majority of gennas in general no doubt contain many elements of magic and are probably developments of magical ceremonies. But the really important gennas, permanent ceremonies of the agricultural year, seem no longer to be thought of in any sense other than that of propitiation or precaution against causing displeasure. A rather different instance of the decay in the belief in magic is perhaps to be found in the present belief in the powers of many *thumomi* (*i.e.*, seers, witches) to extract foreign matter from the interior of sick persons. If a man is ill or lame he will often go and consult a *thumomi*, who will tell him that there is " dirt " in his body and will, after rubbing the injured place or sundry and divers parts of the patient's body, extract, either by mouth or by hand, bits of stone, scraps of bones, teeth, chewed leaves, brown juices, or any old thing from the patient's body, leaving no mark where it came out. In the case of a man with a cough large masses of hair (it usually looks like dog's hair) are taken from his throat externally by the *thumomi*. In spite

of the obvious nature of this imposture, the vast majority of Semas firmly believe that the "dirt" is really drawn out magically from the interior of their bodies. The writer had pebbles taken out of his leg by a female *thumomi* who solemnly informed him that when a child he had sat on a heap of such stones and some had entered into him; a bystander remarked that he had not known that sahibs had "dirt" in their bodies like Nagas. It has occurred to the writer that these operations were originally mere magic, and that the outward and visible extraction of the stone was intended to produce an actual and spiritual extraction of disease or other affliction. Indeed some of these practitioners may still believe that it does so, but most of them are frauds and know it. In the rain-making proceedings the rain-makers, the young men and boys, go and dance and sing like children playing in the rain. In order that rain may fall they make believe that it is doing so. The whole genna is on this wise :—in case of an untimely drought the *lapu*, who is the village burier and who ordinarily conducts personal as opposed to public ceremonies, announces in the morning that a genna for rain (*tsitsogho-pini*) will be observed. No work of any sort may be done that day by anyone in the village. The head of a huluk ape (*Hylobates Huluk*) having been procured, either sex will do, at any rate in some villages, the *lapu* removes the brain and substitutes pounded *aghü* seed (*Chenopodium murale*, see Part II, p. 98, and Part III, p. 180), and, carrying this, goes with the old men to some deep pool in the nearest river which never dries up and which is traditionally associated with rain. There are many such pools, and to interfere with them always causes rain ;[1] often it is enough simply to drive a stake into the pool, and at the time of writing there are two disputes pending settlement by the writer, one in which a village wantonly fished such a pool and caused a fortnight's untimely rain, and the other in which the same fort-

[1] The heavy rain in 1918 which ruined the millet crop was put down in Shevekhe village to the irrigation channels dug by a pestilential innovator who wanted to make terraced fields instead of jhuming like his forebears. The wrathful villagers broke them up.

night's rainfall was caused by the tapping of a different pool in a different river to flood a field, with the result that six or seven villages had their millet crop spoilt. Arrived at the pool the huluk's head is put into it and pegged down by a stake driven through it. Meanwhile the young men and boys with joined hands perambulate the village singing (*strophe*) "*Helo! helo!*" (*antistrophe*) "*Boboshi-tsüghulo!*" which may be translated "Smite! Smite!" (probably addressed to the rain or whoever sends it), "Come down plop, plop!"—"*bobo*" being an admitted imitation of the sound of heavily falling rain. After the rain which invariably follows this ceremony has fallen for long enough, usually seven or eight days, the *lapu* goes and removes the huluk's head, whereon the rain ceases. Some Semas put the head of the huluk ape in the water at a salt-lick. They also drive a stake into the ground in the same place, saying as they do so, "*Tsuna tsuna li, tsuna tsuna li,*" which are the words used when beating "poison" in a river for fish, and when they have finished and are going away they sing "*Tsüga thoile, 'yegi thubo,*" *i.e.*, "Rain come down, reach the earth," which is the song sung by naughty children playing in the rain. When enough rain has fallen and they want it to stop they remove the head and pull out the stake, otherwise the rain would fall continuously.

The meaning of the huluk's head is not quite clear. Its treatment is probably intended to cause the wrath of heaven, as the huluk is frequently associated with rain. It does not apparently descend to the earth to drink, except in times of extreme drought, subsisting on the rainwater that it can find in the hollows of trees or catch from dripping leaves, but some Nagas insist on the head of the black male only, the fawn-coloured female not being used for the ceremony. However, the other part of the ceremony is purely magical.

Direct magic of this sort seems to have more or less disappeared from the regular ceremonies for the sake of the crop, in which abstention is much more prominent than action, but before going into these it will perhaps be better

to give some idea of the hierarchy which regulates these and other gennas.

The regular officials of the village are five—*Akekao*, the chief, the *Awōu* the priest, the *Amthao*, the first reaper, the *Lāpu* or *Amushōu*, the burier, the *Ashiphu*, the divider of meat.

Hierarchy.

The *Akekao* is really a secular official, but in virtue of his position as chief of the village and leader in war he announces the gennas for the clearing of the village paths and for the purposes of war and peace.

The *Awōu* is the principal religious official. He is selected by the *Akekao* and *Chochomi*, and is practically compelled to take the office, which is unpopular, as his length of life is apt to be injuriously affected by the *Asümtsazü* ("tree-spittle"), the frothy sap which exudes from newly-cut trees, at the clearing of new jhums.[1] It is the *awou's* business to initiate the sowing and to announce all the gennas for crops.[2] He is, from the point of view of religious ceremonial, the most important person in the village, and he has an understudy called *Mishilitha*, who acts as his deputy in case he is ill and unable to perform his duties. A poor man is usually selected for the post of *awou*. On the day on which his new jhums are cleared by the whole village, and on the following day, the *awou* must abstain from all flesh except pork and from all wild herbs. The *awou* gets two days' free labour from the whole village—one when his new jhums are cleared and one when they are sown. His deputy, the *mishilitha*, gets no free labour and has no disabilities except having to take the *awou's* place when the *awou* is unable to carry out his duties. On the *awou's* death (normally, at any rate, all these officials hold office for life) his *mishilitha* may or may not be, but more often is, appointed *awou* in his place.

The *Amthao* is the First Reaper; sometimes a male,

[1] The idea may be that the trees combine to spit upon him, just as a Sema village curses a man by calling out his name and spitting in unison.

[2] He thus combines the offices of the Angami *Kemovo* or *Pitsu*, and *Tsakro*—First Sower, though some of the functions of the Angami *Kemovo*, are performed among the Semas by the *Akekao*, who may be likened to the Greek ἀρχηγετής perhaps, *cf.* Sophocles, *Oed Col.* 58–63.

and sometimes, as the Angami equivalent (*lidepfu*) commonly is, a woman.[1] It is the *amthao's* business to start the cutting of each crop, and in the case of paddy and Job's tears—not always, however, of the millet crop (*Setaria italica*, L.)—the harvest is accompanied by strict prohibitions, and on the day that the *amthao* initiates the cutting of the paddy every house in the village gives him or her a measure of paddy (about a seer), except those who are so poor that they can only give beans. The office is unpopular, as the unfortunate *amthao* is liable to die if he makes any mistake in the conduct of a ceremony, in particular that of the genna known as *asükuchu*, which is only done occasionally in a year when the harvest promises to be exceptionally good, each *asah* or "khel" sacrificing a pig on the outskirts of the village. The office sometimes runs in families, the nearest suitable male relative being compelled to succeed in place of a deceased *amthao*. A man or woman who is fastidious about food (*Shonumi*) is selected, at any rate if possible, and the food restrictions are often very onerous.

During the duration of the harvest (the millet harvest excepted) the *amthao* may not eat the flesh of an animal killed or wounded by any wild beast, nor that of the kalij pheasant or "dorik" (*aghu ; Gennæus horsefieldi*), nor of the Arakan Hill partridge or "duboy" (*akhi ; Arboricola intermedia*), nor the grubs or honey of bees and wasps, nor smell beans, nor bamboo rat's [2] nor dog's flesh. The last two of these are in point of fact tabu to the whole village during the harvest, but in some cases they all, or some of them, are tabu to the *amthao* at all times.

The *Lāpu* (or *Akumō-keshú, Amoshu, Amushōu, i.e.*, corpse-burier) is the official burier of the dead. He is a poor man and appointed by the Chief and Elders from the clan whose

[1] Among the Asimi and Zumomi villages he is a male, among the Ayemi and Yepothomi villages usually a female. One Ayemi village experimented by appointing a man for *amthao*, but the experiment was a failure, as the harvest was very poor as a result, although the crops appeared excellent before reaping started. The experiment was not tried again.

[2] *Achügi*—a *Rhizomys*.

members are fewest and of least importance in the village. Thus he is a Kibalimi man in the Zumomi village of Sheyepu, a Chophimi in the Yepothomi village of Sotoemi, a Tsükomi in Sakhalu. Besides digging the graves and interring the bodies of the dead he performs the requisite ceremonies for the recovery of the sick, such as that called *awukhu-pheve* [1] ("egg-throwing"), in which he comes to the sick man's house in the evening holding two eggs in his right hand, which he waves six times (five only for a woman) widdershins round the sick man's face, counting carefully "*khe*, *kini*, *kuthu*, *bidi*, *pungu*, *tsogoh* (up to *pungu* only for a woman), after which the sick man spits on the eggs, when the *lapu* takes them away and casts one towards the sunrise and then the other towards the sunset, repeating as he does so words to the effect that he is casting the disease out of the sick man, who will get well. Meanwhile someone in the house has taken a burning brand from the fire, thrown it out at the doorway, and shut and barred the door, which is not opened again till morning. The blazing brand is probably to keep the spirit of sickness from returning. Another such genna which the *lapu* does is the *awugha* (fowl's scream), which consists in taking an unfortunate cock and plucking it slowly to make it squawk loud and repeatedly, so that whatever spirit has stricken the sick man may hear and accept the offering.[2]

The *lapu* has some other more or less public duties as well. He must make the first cut when cutting up the meat of mithan or cattle sacrificed at the social ceremony called *apikesa ;* he first digs out and cleans the water supply when a new village is made, and he strings and hangs up the heads of enemies taken in war after they have been bored for hanging by the *akutsü yekhipēu*, who is the most renowned

[1] This genna, however, also called *apikukho*, is in some villages, perhaps most, not done by the *lapu*, but by any relation or friend of the sick man or indeed anyone willing to oblige. It certainly is not essential in all villages that the *lapu* should perform it. *Vide infra*, p. 230.

[2] As the plucking of fowls alive has recently been forbidden in the administered villages, the wretched bird is now slapped instead of plucked, or the movements of plucking are gone through and the bird is well squeezed with the left hand at each movement.

warrior in the village available for the purpose. The *lapu* also announces the *Teghakŭsá* genna (*vide infra*).

No particular prohibitions in the matter of food, etc., attach to the office of *lapu*.

As for the *Ashiphu*, he is the least important of the official hierarchy, at any rate in virtue of his office. Any elderly man may be appointed *ashiphu*, and the *akekao* and *chochomi* make the appointment. In the "Tukomi" clans the *ashiphu* is often, if not normally, the *akekao* himself.

The *ashiphu's* duties are to make the first cut in the flesh of beasts sacrificed in the ceremonies of social status known as *Shisho* and *Yïicho*. He has no other duties, but in the case of persons doing the *Shisho* genna, which follows a man's marriage and begins the series of ceremonies that he must perform if he is to attain high social position, he has to live for thirty days in the house of the man who is *Shisho* and eat only rice, pork, and the bean called *akyekhe*. He may drink liquor provided it is not brewed from *atsünakhi* (*Sorghum vulgare*).

The duties of these officials have been set down as they are observed in the Zumomi village of Sheyepu. They probably vary in different places, and are sure to vary with the three forms of Sema ceremonial. For three divergent practices, alike in principle but differing in detail, are well recognised. The words and the acts of the celebrant and the gennas observed vary and the number of days during which a tabu lasts also varies according to the practice followed. These practices are known respectively as the *Süphuo*, the *Tukophuo*, and the *Choliphuo*. It is obvious enough from their names that while the first may be regarded as the genuine Sema practice (*Sü* is the root of Simi or Sümi, and it is the practice which is normally followed by the Asimi clan and its offshoots including the Zumomi), the other two represent Sangtam (*Tukomi*) and Ao (*Cholimi*) influences. Such influences we might certainly expect to find, where so much that is now Sema territory belonged to these tribes, for not only would they know best how to propitiate local spirits, but both their members and their culture were often adopted by their Sema conquerors. It

is, moreover, in the areas taken from the Ao and the Sangtam that the *Choliphuo* and *Tukophuo* practices predominate. The form of gennas in the following list is, generally speaking, given according to the *Süphuo* practice as being the form most genuinely Sema.

Before, however, giving details of these gennas it will be as well to explain that the expression "genna" is loosely used to cover both the Sema words *chĭni* and *pĭni*. *Chini* = "is forbidden" and is used of any tabu. Thus a man may say that he is *chini*, meaning that for the time being he is unable to speak to strangers, or he might be unable to speak to anyone at all or to be addressed by anyone. Again some action may be *chini* or "forbidden," while the word is sometimes loosely used for an action that ought not to be done. Thus the writer has heard men say that it is *chini* to be imprisoned, meaning that they would not dream of doing anything which would entail such a consequence. Generally speaking, however, *chini* when used of persons or communities means a condition in which communication between them and others is forbidden. *Pini*, on the other hand, refers only to the prohibition under which it is forbidden to work in or even go down to the fields.

Agricultural Gennas.

The gennas of the agricultural year are proclaimed (unless the contrary is stated) by the *awou* on the morning of the day on which he has decided, after consulting if necessary the old men wise in these matters, to hold the genna, as the date is not a fixed one, but varies according to the state of the weather and the success or failure of former crops considered in conjunction with the times of previous sowing. It is, however, desirable, though not necessary, to sow at the end of the first quarter of the moon. Seeds sown at the wane of the moon do not sprout.[1] The position of Orion is also observed for the sowing, which should take place when he is in the same position in the sky as the sun is at about 2 p.m. (*lubagholo*) in the daytime. The call of the *kasupapo* (cuckoo) is also listened for as an aid to fixing the sowing gennas, for the sowing should never take place before it has been heard. The remaining gennas are

[1] But not so others; *cf.* p. 62.

fixed with less precision and more by guess, except in the case of the harvest, which is fixed by the ripening of the crop. Follow the gennas of the Sema agricultural year by *Süphuo* reckoning and as observed in the Zumomi village of Sheyepu :—

1. The first genna of the year is the *ASÜYEKHIPHE*. It marks the beginning of the clearing of new jhums. On this day no one may cut wood, husk paddy, spin, weave, sew, string beads, or peel tying bamboos. All persons clearing new fields take an egg to their field, and they may not let anyone take fire from their hearths on that day. The egg is placed in a piece of *thumsü*[1] stick split into three at the top to hold the egg. The field house, *akhapiki*, is afterwards built on the spot where the egg was placed. The clearing of the jungle is then begun and may proceed at the clearer's will, provided he leaves a small patch uncleared for the next genna.

2. This is the *LUWUNYI*, which marks the completion of the clearing of new jhums. On this day the same prohibitions[2] are observed as on that of *Asüyekhiphe*. All the patches of uncleared jungle must be cleared and finished off on that day. Persons whose fields contain unlucky spots, spots such as places struck by lightning, or springs from red earth and containing a red deposit in the water (and an oily scum on it), must offer an egg at these spots, stuck as before in a cleft *thumsü* stick. Later also offerings of dogs and pigs and chickens are made at such places.

3. The next genna takes place after the jhums have been burnt and are all ready for sowing. It is called *VISÁVELA*. Spinning, weaving, sewing, peeling of tying bamboos, and all work in the fields is forbidden.[2]

4. The *Visavela* is followed on the next day by the *KICHÍMIYA* (or *LITSABA*) in honour of the spirit of that name, at which paddy husking, spinning, weaving, sewing, and stringing beads are forbidden[2] to the village. All rich or important men kill pigs, and each gives the lower part (from halfway up the thigh downwards) of the off hind leg to the *Amthao* (the First Reaper). Persons who

[1] *Thumsü* is a tree bearing very acid edible berries. [2] *Chĭni.*

kill pigs at this genna must also refrain[1] from peeling tying bamboos.

5, 6, and 7. The *Kichimiya* marks the completion of preparation of the fields. The actual sowing may follow immediately or be postponed till the time is exactly right in accordance with reckonings already mentioned. In either case it is immediately preceded by the genna called *MITI*, in which it is forbidden for any member of the village to go to the fields at all.[2] The day after *Miti* is also genna, and called *MÜZÁH*. Tying bamboos may not be peeled, and every man sows a handful of paddy, not in his field, but on the path. The next day the whole village goes and sows fields of the *awou*, the *awou* himself beginning. On the next day, *APITEKHU*, it is again genna[2] to go to the fields at all, but on the day after *Apitekhu* the chief's field is sown by the whole village, the chief being forbidden to take anything out of his house or to speak to any stranger. This day is called *Arüzhu*, but it is not a genna day.

8 and 9. The completion of sowing is marked by the *AOKHUNI* gennas, Big and Little (*Aokhuni kizhēo* and *Aokhuni kitla*). The former takes place immediately sowing is completed. No wood is cut and paddy is neither husked nor even spread to dry, as if this were done the roots of the sown grain would not strike, drying up, no doubt, like the paddy dried in the village. The latter genna follows a few days after the former and consists merely in a prohibition against going to the fields.[2] If rain is wanted at this time the *Tsitsogho pini* for making rain is performed as already described.

10. When the young rice is about a foot or so high the *AUHÜKITI* is observed, to keep the young blades from withering. All work is stopped for one day and the genna is followed by the first clearing (*amuza*) of the fields to get rid of the weeds that have grown up.

11. The second clearing (*akiniu*) of the fields is inaugurated by the *ALUCHIKE* genna. Every member of the village who is cultivating that year sacrifices a fowl or an egg in the fields and throws a few grains of corn to every stream

[1] *Chĭni.* [2] *Pĭni.*

which he crosses. He works in the fields that day, but the following day all work is forbidden, and no one in the village at all may go to the fields.

12. When the ear begins to form, the very important genna called *ANYI* takes place. It must be started five days before the end of the last quarter of the moon and lasts during these five days. No one may go to the fields for that period, and on the first day (called *Asüza*) no one may leave the village at all. On the second day, *Aghüza*, persons who have acquired status by gennas prepare rice for brewing the liquor called *azhichoh*. On the third day (called *Ashyegheni*) everyone must remain in the village and must eat pork. All who can kill pigs. Those who do not must buy flesh from those who do, for if pork is not eaten the grain will not form properly. On the following morning, *Anyeghini*, every married couple makes a little offering at the foot of the front centre post, *atsüpi*, of the house for *Litsaba* (the name *Kichimiya* not being used in this connection). On both *Ashyegheni* and *Anyeghini* men must remain chaste, and on the day following the latter, *Laghepini*, all males clear the village path to the fields, but women are allowed to go and work in the fields.

13. The *Anyi* is followed by the genna called *LAKEOKHU* or *TEKHEKHI*, observed for the good of the crops. The whole village is forbidden to go to the fields, and paddy may not be husked at all. The *akekao* provides a pig and the *awou* and *amthao* go outside the village and eat it. The *amthao* brings back the head and cooks and eats it in his house.

14. The next genna is the *AKHAPE-KUMTA*[1] to make the ears break their sheath straight and well. The whole village abstains from going to the fields and may not peel pliant bamboos, nor spin, nor weave, nor sew, nor string beads. No doubt the binding of thread could have a binding effect on the bursting ears.

15. The *SAGHÜ-AKHU* (female *saghü*) is an important genna of one day's duration. All work is forbidden; many kill pigs, and whoever does so distributes pieces of flesh throughout the village. This is done at dawn, when each

[1] *Akhape-kumta* = "The ear cannot open."

man must squeeze out through a half-closed door, get his share, take it back, and burn a scrap of it before his *atsüpi* (the front post of the house) before opening his door wide. Killers of pig get one day's free labour from the recipients of pieces of pork. The offering burnt before the *atsüpi* must be done by the householder or he suffers disaster.

The *awou* at dawn on the day of the *saghü* announces the next day but one as the day of the genna, but the genna in point of fact is kept that day. The object is said to be to deceive the spirits whose evil influences the genna is intended to avert. *Saghü* is said to be connected with the root of *Kesah* = bad.

16. The *SAGHÜ-ADU* (male *saghü*, the two *Saghü* are said to be called male and female because there is a pair of them) is a one-day's genna kept exactly like *Saghü-akhu*, except that pigs are not killed. If this genna and that of *Saghü* proper are not announced wrongly the *awou* is apt to die untimely. The *Saghü-adu* is kept at full moon and the reaping begins at the next new moon.

17. *APIKHIMTHE* marks the beginning of the reaping and takes place the day before that fixed for the first cutting of the crop by the *amthao ;* males must abstain from rice, beef, and dog's flesh on this day, but may drink liquor and eat the flesh of other animals. Before dawn on this day all males go to the nearest river and wash their bodies, weapons, and clothes. The infirm wash only a corner of their cloth. They bring back with them new water in new vessels (" chungas ") of bamboo and may not touch the old water that may be in their houses on that day. On the eve of *Apikhimthe* and on the following night all males must remain chaste, and, having taken their clothes and weapons, collect before the house of any member of their clan who may have a suitable house as clean as possible. There they collect the fermented rice, from which they are to make their liquor with the new water that they bring, and there they sit and drink on the day of the genna. All meat and drink unconsumed by cock-crow on the night following the day of genna are buried in one pit near the village. Should a wild dog defecate over this pit it is

regarded as a most unlucky omen. On the day of genna the whole village must stay at home, neither going to the fields to work nor visiting any other village. On the next day reaping is begun. The day before the reaping is open to the general public the *amthao* goes to the fields and cuts a single head of corn from his (or her) own field (if any). If the corn in that particular field is not in ear, a stem or leaf of the plant will do. This is taken back to the village and deposited in the granary.[1] For the ceremony performed by individuals before reaping their own crops see story XVII in Part VI.

18. The next genna, the *AWONAKUCHU*,[2] celebrates the harvest home after the reaping has been finished and all the grain reaped by everyone carried home. This genna occupies two days, the first of which is strictly called *Abosuhu*, that is to say, the " making of mat enclosure " for the grain, bamboo mats being used to enclose the grain within the walls of the granary to prevent the loss of the grain, which is heaped up inside a circular wall of mat. The *Awonakuchu* is the first eating of the rice from the top of the newly-stored crop.

On the morning of the *Abosuhu* the men eat as usual with the women, but in the evening separate themselves as in the *Apikhimthe* and sleep away from the women. Again at cock-crow some of the men go for new water and there wash their bodies (not their clothes) and bring new water in new " chungas," and this water only may be used by the men that day for washing or for cooking. The whole village is genna that day, doing no work and going nowhere. The men again separate themselves that night, and the genna ends at cock-crow next morning.

Of the gennas above given the *Anyi*, *Saghü*, and *Awonakuchu* are probably universally observed by Semas, though the others are most of them subject to very considerable variations and divergences.

In addition to the regular agricultural gennas, some,

[1] The Angami first reaper cuts several heads, takes them home, rubs out the grain, and cooks and eats it.

[2] *Awonakuchu* probably = "The *awou's* eating (*chu*) of rice (*ana*)."

if not all, of the Semas who have recently started terraced fields have adopted an Angami genna observed on the occasion of flooding the field. New fire is made with a fire-stick and on it "pitu modhu" (*azhichoh*) is made. This is taken to the field and some of it is poured into the channel or channels that bring the water to the terraces, with an injunction to the water to flow steadily and not to be lost in holes by the way.

Another annual genna there is, but not connected with agriculture. This is the *TEGHAKUSA* (= "the genna of the *Teghami*"), which is performed for the prevention of disease. It is announced by the *Lapu* and consists in one day's *pini*.

The origin of all gennas is imputed to the original man who lived with his brothers the Spirit and the Tiger. The Spirit knew when it was right to go to the fields and when to abstain in order that the crops might be good, and the man would ask, saying, "Do you go to the fields to-day?" and the Spirit would answer "Yes," or "No. It is the Litsaba genna," and so forth, and thus the man learnt. This perhaps suggests the adoption of the gennas from the inhabitants found in country invaded and occupied by Semas, or from immigrants of superior culture who may have introduced the cultivation of rice.

In addition to the regular and recurring agricultural gennas[1] there are, of course, a number of gennas observed by the whole village which occur from time to time according to circumstances—gennas for making peace or war, gennas for repairing the village defences, gennas observed for the birth of some monstrosity, or gennas such as that observed by Alapfumi in 1915, when the whole village beheld two suns (or a sun and a moon side by side, as others say) in the sky at sunrise (*v. infra* under "Nature"). The genna for rain has already been mentioned; there are gennas to avert disease; and there are also occasions when the whole village is genna on account of the action of one member of it. Thus if a man takes oath on a tiger's tooth,

[1] In the accounts of the following gennas I have not adhered in all cases to the *Süphuo* form.

at any rate while the crops are in the ground, the village must observe a genna, or if a man gives a feast or entertainment (*Inami-kusá*) to which another village is invited, the whole village does genna. Most of these gennas merely consist in the observance of *pini*.

This feast of *Inami-kusa* ("stranger calling feast") is the final goal of the series of feasts by which an individual attains to social distinction. The first of these is the *SHIKUSHO*, at which one pig is killed and its flesh distributed and liquor provided for the whole village on six successive mornings. It is performed at the harvest. A man who has performed the *Shikusho* may then proceed to the *APISA*, at which a bull is killed and liquor provided as before on six successive mornings for the whole village. In the case of both these gennas the village generally puts on its best clothes and turns out and dances. The man who has done the *Apisa* (? = "cloth feast") is entitled to wear the cloth called *akhome*,[1] and he puts up outside his house a long bamboo pole thickly covered with small cane leaves and with the lower half supported by a rough forked pole of the tree called *michisü*,[2] a tree with a white flower and highly irritant bark. To the dropping end of the bamboo ornaments of gourds a sort of tassels of bamboo are attached, which swing and clatter in the wind. This erection is called *aghüza*.[3] The bull is not an absolutely essential part of this ceremony, but unless included the cloth *akhome* cannot be assumed. Mithan may be substituted for ordinary cattle by anyone rich enough to do so. Social Status.

The *Apisa* genna is followed by that called *AKIKYEGHE*. This necessitates the slaughter of a mithan and the standing of a drink to everyone in the village. An ordinary bull may be substituted for the mithan, at any rate in some villages. The celebrating of this feast enables the giver to put horns

[1] See Part I, p. 14. [2] *Schima wallichii*.

[3] Or *akedu*, or *michikedu* when the ceremony is not absolutely completely performed and a shortened bamboo is put up (*akedu*) or the cane leaves with which the bamboo should be covered are omitted (*michikedu*). When a man is fetching cane leaves to make an *aghüza* the whole village must observe a genna and such leaves may not be taken from the land of another village without permission.

(*tenhaku-ki*) on his gable and the Y-shaped genna posts in front of the house, each one of which represents a mithan slaughtered.

The culminating genna of this description is the *INAMI-KUSA*. Only a very rich man can do it, and it can hardly be reckoned as belonging to the regular series of social status gennas. Another village must be invited (as the name denotes) and at least two mithan, and usually more, killed, together with pigs in large numbers. Liquor is unlimited, and altogether it is a great feast. The whole village in which it takes place observes *pini*, and there is dancing in gala dress.

In all these gennas an egg is broken on the bull's head as it is being killed, with the words "*Athiuno kuthomo hekepini. Teghámino kimiyeno atsü akizheo o-pa nyekāni*"—"Hereafter let me kill many. Be the spirits kind, a mighty bull shall follow in your tracks." It should be added that though it is normally bulls which are killed, the substitution of cows is not barred.

At the *Shikusho* and *Apisa* the festal liquor must be first tasted by an old woman, who receives the leg of a pig, which is hung up over the celebrant's door while he is genna and taken away by her afterwards. This old woman must be the first to cook during the genna, and she separates and throws away the share of meat set aside for the spirits. She is called *Yiipu* or *Atsüghükulhau*.

Another feast of a similar sort is the *KUPULHU-KILEKE*, the Feast of Friendship, given by a man to cement the tie of friendship with another. The present given to the guest so bound amounts to from half a pig's body with the head to a hind-quarter and a large part of the body of a mithan. The whole village keeps *pini* on the day of the entertainment, and songs are sung, in particular songs in honour of the entertainer and his friend. There is no dancing. The friend spends two nights in his host's house, sleeping as a rule on the paddy husking bench in the *akishekhoh* or *apasübo*, and thereafter goes home.

This feast must be returned within three years, but sometimes the recipient is unable to do this, and it may stand

Mithan Bull Tied to Genna Post and thrown on its Side before Roping Legs.

Method of Killing the Mithan after Legs have been Roped.

Killing "Mithan" at a *Kupulhukileke* given by Inato, Chief of Lumitsami.

[*To face p.* 229.

over to the next generation, when, if not repaid, a fine is sometimes claimed. In any case the return feast is expected to exceed that originally given in extent, though the penalty claimed in case no return is made is usually half the expenses of the original feast.

It is not incumbent on a man asked to a feast of friendship to accept the invitation in the first instance, but if he accepts he is liable to damages for breaking the compact.

The method of killing mithan at these feasts is interesting. The mithan, with cane ropes bound to its horns and forehead, is hauled up to a new Y-shaped post erected for the purpose, and when it puts its head against the fork, its legs are pulled away with the help of cane ropes so that it is thrown on one side, in which position it is held down by long poles laid across its body. Its head must point east, and some Semas insist on its being thrown on the left side.[1] Its legs are then lashed together, and one of the poles no longer needed to hold it down is inserted between the hind legs in front of the lashings and passed up behind the tail. This is pulled back so as to lever the hind legs almost into a straight line with the body, rendering the animal unable to struggle. First two or three formal strokes with a stick are given, then a slight cut is made on the flank behind the shoulder, and an old man inserts into this cut the point of a hard stick, which he drives home with a quick push, while the giver of the feast pours water on to the animal's muzzle. The whole operation is surprisingly quick, and death seems to be practically instantaneous the moment the stick is driven home. It is drawn out carefully and slowly. The formal blows with a stick and the use of a stick instead of a spear to kill the animal suggest a period when iron weapons were not known and a reluctance to use iron in killing the animal even though transfixion may have been substituted for beating to death. Aos, when sacrificing mithan, make a formal blow on the forehead with a stone.

Sickness.

Of gennas done by individuals to get rid of sickness the *APIKUKHO* has already been mentioned (p. 218). A

[1] So that the cut is made behind the right shoulder.

variant form, however, exists in which one egg may be used instead of two and thrown in any direction away from the sick man's house, and in which the egg or eggs may be manipulated by any person and are not thrown by the *lapu*. The thrower in throwing the egg away says, "*Hi pfe o-tsüanike ; hi nguno athiuye i-pulo akevishivepelo*"—"This I have taken and given you ; henceforward make good my condition." Immediately this is done the sick man's door is shut, and he speaks to no one but those of his own household, while the operator goes to his own place. Should the operator himself be of the sick man's household he comes back into the house, takes a burning brand or two from the fire, throws it towards the door, shuts the door, and sits down inside the house as far from the sick man as he conveniently can, and refrains entirely from speech with him.

Another ceremony for healing the sick is the *KUNGU-LA* (*lit.* = "Heaven-road"). A *thumomi* is called in to do this, and the precise formulæ are known only to him (or her), but as far as the uninitiated can say the ceremony consists in killing a pig and tearing up a banana leaf into strips. From these a large number of diminutive leaf cups are made and, filled with rice-beer, are hung on the carved frontal post (*atsü*) of the house. In other pieces of leaf scraps of pig-meat are wrapped and also stuck on to the post. A leg of the pig, together with the tongue, gall, tail, a scrap of liver, and the bladder unemptied, is put into a basket and left in the house near the sick man's bed in order that the *thumomi* may come in the spirit that night and take the contents, or rather their spiritual equivalent, as a gift to the *Kungumi*. On the following morning the *thumomi* comes in the flesh and takes away the gross matter that remains. During the actual day of the ceremony the sick man may not speak to strangers, and a bunch of leaves is stuck up on the outside of his house to show that he is genna that day.

In Emilomi and the neighbouring villages a form of genna of the same sort, more or less, is used and called *AZÜ-LA* ("Water-road"), but is associated with the

python (*aithu*) to whom, no doubt, intercession for recovery is made.

There are probably many other forms of genna[1] practised by the *thumomi*, who, indeed, probably invent new forms of whatever kind and whenever they see fit. These *thumomi* are arrant frauds and practise any sort of knavery that a gullible *clientèle* finds attractive. Some of them probably have second sight in some degree, but do not scruple to "detect" thieves, etc., with absolute disregard of even the possibilities of the case, probabilities let alone. Their favourite trick of extracting "dirt" has already been mentioned. The foolery with which they accomplish this is manifold. They will pretend to draw it up to the surface of the body with leaves as though with a magnet, to blow it down from the top of the patient's head till it descends to his feet, where they extract it, to squeeze it up to the skin with the hands, and a hundred and one like *escamoteries*, "extracting" it at the critical moment by sucking with the mouth, where they conceal the "dirt" to be extracted under the tongue, and allowing it to fall out, when the patient seriously believes that it has come from his body, though devil a mark there is to show how it passed his skin. The sucking out of the extracted object is often accompanied by a shrewd nip, which the patient takes for the pain attending the object's emergence from his body. The writer has been operated on by one of these practitioners. The objects produced are bits of stone, quartz, iron, tin, old teeth, chewed leaves, mud, hairs, etc., the latter being invariably produced from a patient with a cough. They are taken from the exterior of his gullet and he is told that it was these hairs that made him cough. A really clever *thumomi* extracts not with the mouth, but with his bare hands, so that the object is probably not concealed in his

[1] Petty afflictions such as sore eyes are said to be sometimes got rid of by packing up rubbish in the house in an old basket and saying "I am going out," then leaving the house and hanging up the basket on a tree outside the village with the words "Stay here and mind this basket, I shall not be gone long," then returning home by another path. I am indebted to Mr. Mills for this, and it is a Lhota custom, but the Semas who practise it may have got it from the Sangtams.

mouth, but in such cases he usually does it in the inner darkness of a Sema house where little skill or sleight of hand is needed.

For a consideration a *thumomi* will sometimes teach his trade, but no case of a pupil's having given away his teacher is known. Indeed they appear to have a belief in their own powers which assorts most ill with the impostures they practise.

But to go out of one's way to convict the *thumomi* of fraud is to break a bluebottle upon the wheel. Sufficeth it that the *thumomi* believes in himself and is believed in by his patients and in very truth often cures them by faith alone. After all, he differs little from a "Christian Science" practitioner, unless it be in that he uses a trifle more deception to induce the state of mind in which the patient recovers of his affliction.

The *thumomi*, though a well-known and more or less indispensable person, has no official position in the village hierarchy. He (or she) is a private practitioner, self-appointed and independent. He acts as an intermediary between private persons and the spirits, and sometimes is, or claims to be, *clairvoyant*. He is a dreamer of dreams and skilled in the interpretation thereof, a curer of illness, and a discoverer of stolen property.[1] Sometimes he has, or is credited with, a knowledge of poisons[2] not possessed by the ordinary man. Yet he is not as a rule a man of any social standing or personal influence, and is almost invariably poor, so markedly so that it is generally held that a *thumomi* is unable to acquire riches, a belief which assists credulity in the *thumomi's* impostures, as it meets the most obvious criticism as to the *thumomi's* object in

[1] Divining is a property often ascribed to books. A chief once came to me and asked me to look in my books and tell him the whereabouts of his brother, who had run away from the hospital into the jungle in delirium. I consulted the *sortes Homerianae* for him with the most appropriate results, opening the Odyssey at the passage where Telemachus asks for news of his father, and is told that he has visited the land of the dead and returned.

[2] Including that of the poison called *atsünigha*, the fruit of a plant, which when thrown at a person or secreted in his clothes enters into his body, causing him to die later on by the swelling of all his limbs.

A *Thumomi* of Alapfumi.

A *Thumomi* of Tsivikaputomi.

[*To face p.* 232.

deceiving. No stigma attaches to the activities of a *thumomi* or to his practice of magic,[1] and he is not necessarily regarded as being personally responsible for being a *thumomi*, which may befall him against his will.

The important incidents of a man's life entail, of course, the observance of gennas. It has already been mentioned that the birth of a domestic animal necessitates the observance of genna, and the birth of a human being is accompanied by stricter observances.

Birth.

When a male child is born its mother observes six days' genna, and five for a female child, but in the case of her first child, of whichever sex, the genna is ten days. A dog or pig is killed. Wild vegetables, flesh killed by wild animals, or any other "bad meat" is forbidden to the household, which must live on food of its own provision. The members of the household may not work in their own fields or go to their granary, but may work in the fields of others. The mother herself must stay at home for the period of the genna and may not leave the precincts of the house except to defecate, and may not speak to any stranger. As soon as the child is born she eats a chicken of the same sex as the child.

When the days of genna are completed the mother takes a child of the same sex as her infant, an empty basket, and a rain shield, and goes to the end of the village and says "I am going to the fields," and then returns to the house. The genna is then at an end.

Should the father be out when the birth takes place he may not enter the house till the sun has set.

The method of delivery (or at any rate one method) is for the mother to squat on her heels upon a cloth spread on the ground. A woman steadies her shoulders from behind, another doing the same from in front, while a third steadies and supports her knees.

The after-birth is buried inside the house under the bed

[1] I have noted this as Dr. Jevons has based a distinction between magic and religion on the lines that the former is regarded as something bad and unlawful even by primitive communities (*Folklore*, vol. xxviii, No. 3, September, 1917). This is, at any rate, not always the case.

or in some other spot where no one is likely to tread. An old woman buries it and washes her hands and face thereafter, and, though eating in the house, eats separately for three days.

Should the mother die in childbirth she is taken out by the back door and buried behind the house. The husband in such a case is genna for eleven days. All the dead woman's beads, ornaments, clothes, etc., are thrown away, and her husband's personal property is not touched by anyone "for a year," *i.e.*, until after the next harvest. Even then all utensils, etc., are got rid of as soon as they can be replaced, and no one will touch them except the aged. If the child lives and there is no woman of the household to take charge of it, it is given to some childless couple, who eventually take half the marriage price if it is a girl, and who bring it up as their own son if a boy, though in the latter case the boy does not change his clan for that of his foster-parents. If the child dies at the same time as its mother it is buried with her.

A new-born child which dies is buried in the *akishekhoh*, and is not buried with a cloth, but only with bamboo bark instead. Three days' genna only is observed for its death.

Children are suckled for from one to three years, and it is not unusual to see a Sema mother suckling two children who may have more than a year's difference between them in the matter of age.

On the third day after the child's birth the lobe of the ear is pierced by some clans, notably the Yepothomi and others to the north, and a wisp of cotton put into it, and at the same time a tiny basket is made and lined with leaf and six pebbles, and six bits of ash are put into it. When the mother takes a child and goes (nominally) to the fields to break the genna, the child carries this basket and its contents to the village well, where it throws them away. The child taken on this occasion may be a brother or a sister of the infant or near relative or merely a neighbour. Just before the boring of the ear the child is given a chicken of the same sex as itself. The mother may not eat of this chicken. The Asimi, Zumomi, and some other clans do not bore the

ear at all on this occasion, and by those that do so only the lobe of the ear is bored then. In the case of boys the concha of the ear is pierced later, and usually somewhere about the age of puberty. If not done before marriage the concha of the ear cannot be pierced unless the genna for touching an enemy's corpse is done. Among the northern Semas two holes are made, one at the edge of the fossa of the antihelix and one in the concha, and become gradually enlarged by the insertion of thick wads of cotton wool until in the aged they are distended to an enormous size. In the case of girls all Semas alike bore the hole at the apex of the helix from below upwards. These holes are in addition to the hole in the lobe which every Sema has. A Sema accustomed to wear cotton in the holes in his ears cannot discontinue it without discomfort, largely owing to passage of air through the empty apertures, which interferes with his hearing.

The distension of the ear sometimes causes even the outer edge to split, while to inflict an injury on a man by tearing his ear, whether the lobe or the concha, is a serious offence, as the torn ear will not hold ornaments. The torn ear, however, can be mended, as if tied up quickly and spliced with fresh chicken skin the parts grow together again.

The Asimi, Zumomi, and other clans who do not always pierce the lobe of the ear on the third day have a regular occasion for doing so. Anyone who is so inclined and has a son of suitable age celebrates a genna called *anivu*, in which he kills a pig and provides a large quantity of rice liquor and gives a feast. Anyone in the village who has a son or daughter with ears unpierced may have them pierced on that day. For boys they make only one hole in the middle of the concha instead of two, and one in the lobe. The number and position of holes bored vary by locality rather than by clan, the southern Semas following the last-mentioned custom generally, while one or two villages like Iganumi, much influenced by Angamis, bore four small holes in the outer edge of the helix and one in the lobe, no others.[1]

[1] If a man die with the concha of his ear unbored his forebears in the next world disown him.

In the Yepothomi and in the other clans who bore the lobe on the third day the child's name is usually given on the same day. It may be given by the parents or by anyone at all who has ideas on the subject. Omens as to its suitability are not taken, but the choice of a name, as among all Semas, except possibly the villages of the Lazemi group, is limited by the social standing and degree of prosperity of its parents. If an ambitious name is given to the child of poor parents people remark, "*Aho! aho!*" ("Oh! I say," as one might put it), and most frequently the child dies. In any case it is a subject for ridicule, and probably receives a nickname much more opprobrious than a name that might in the first place have been suitably bestowed. Thus while a chief will give a child names implying prowess in war or prosperity in peace, the names given to a poor man's son denominate him an object of poverty, scorn, or aversion. Among chiefs' names we find such as "Victor" (*Gwovishe*),[1] "Challenger" (*Nikhui*), "Preventer" (*Kakhiya*, one who holds the road and prevents the escape or onslaught of the enemy), "Resorted to" (*Inato*),[2] "Enriched" (*Nikiye*), or in the case of girls "Peace-maker" (*Sükhali*), "Hostess" (*Khezeli*). As examples of the names of nobodies, we might take "Eyesore" (*Zunache*), "Notorious debtor" (*Nachezü, Nachelho*, the debts being in paddy and this existence implying permanent poverty), "Untouchable" (*Sholepu*, because of the filthiness of his habits,) "Outcast" (*Yevetha*), and for girls "Spurned" (*Mithili*), "Gossiper" (*Pilheli*).[3]

In the more southern villages of Zumomi and Asimi the name of a child is fixed upon when the genna for its birth expires, but it is not used and the child is spoken of as Kumtsa,[4] or Kakhu, or some such common name, the real

[1] *Lit.* "one who goes well."

[2] *I.e.*, by persons wanting help or protection or the settlement of disputes.

[3] Or, perhaps, "chatterbox," but the name has the implication that the chatter is of an unpleasant if not abusive description, and that the owner's tongue is without restraint—"Billingsgate" might almost pass as a translation.

[4] *Kumtsa* = "Bitter," a very common name indeed.

name not being used till the child is some months old, an indication of the excessive susceptibility of new-born children to evil influences. Another instance of this is found in the superstition that the sand-lizard (*aniza*) informs the spirits (*teghami*) of the birth of male children, with the result that the spirits collect and destroy the new-born child. For this reason men kill the sand-lizard on sight. Women, on the other hand, always let it go scathless, as when a female child is born it remains *chini* and does not leave its hole. The women, moreover, sometimes make a fuss if men try to kill an *aniza* and endeavour to protect it.[1]

Generally speaking, the Sema has the same disinclination to mention his own name that most Nagas have, though the feeling is fast weakening. It may have some connection with the notion that a man's soul answers to the name as well as his body.

Before leaving the question of nomenclature it should be mentioned that the Sema never gives to the child the name of a living relation, though the names of dead ancestors are popular among those with a child to name. The explanation given is that, if the name of a living senior be given, the elder will die, as a substitute for him in this world has been provided. Possibly there is behind this some fear that such nomenclature would be tantamount to saddling one soul with two bodies, one of which, being useless, would die. The very strong objection which Semas have to having an animal named after them may be connected with the same idea. At the same time, they do not appear to have, at the present time, any belief at all that the dead are reincarnated in the living.

In addressing one another, Semas are most punctilious in using a suitable appellation in speaking to or of any but intimates or inferiors. They use the terms of family relation when speaking to a senior or a stranger who is of their clan, calling them "*imu* (my elder brother) So-

[1] *Cf.* the practice of the Port Lincoln tribe of South Australia in regard to the lizard called *ibirri* (male) and *waka* (female); each human sex tries to destroy the opposite sex of the lizard, on the ground that it was this lizard which divided the sexes in the human species. Sir J. Frazer, "The Golden Bough," vol. xi, p. 216 (3rd ed.).

and-so," "*Ini* (aunt) So-and-so," "*Itükuzu* (my younger brother) So-and-so," and so forth, according to their seniority. Similarly, members of a clan to which the speaker is related by marriage will be addressed as "*ichi* (my brother-in-law) So-and-so," etc. Equals who are not intimates or relations are addressed as "*ishōu* (my friend) So-and-so," inferiors (in age) who are not related are addressed as *āpu* ("lad"), while the terms *ipu* and *iza* ("my father," "my mother") are used for any very senior person or one to whom much respect is due owing to his position. Thus the writer was always addressed as *Ipu shaha* ("Father Sahib") until well enough known to become "*Ipu*" simply.

Puberty. The assumption of man's dress by a Sema boy is a matter of small account and is variously observed by the different clans. Thus the Yepothomi boy on the day that he first puts on the "lengta" merely abstains from wild vegetables, meat killed by wild animals, and any other sort of food which is spiritually dangerous. The Ayemi boy is stood upon the husking-table while the "lengta" is first put on by his parents; this is done to put him out of reach of lice, which might otherwise infest his "lengta" and trouble him. He observes no other rite or tabu. The Zumomi, also with the object of avoiding lice, refrain from the rice from which liquor has been brewed on the day on which they have first put on the "lengta." They also refrain from vegetables. As, however, the "lengta" is usually first put on by them at night after the last meal, the actual abstention is rarely more than a nominal deprivation.

Marriage. The Sema formalities in connection with marriage vary to a considerable extent among different clans and are characterised by a vast number of minute observances. The account below gives only the general details.

At the time of formal betrothal the prospective bridegroom goes to the house of the parents of the girl and eats and drinks there. He is accompanied by a person called *anisu*—in the Yepothomi clan an old man, in the Ayemi clan an old woman—who drinks and eats before the prospective bridegroom does so and blesses the match. This is no doubt to assure, if possible, that

any evil influences attending the proposed marriage shall fall on the *anisu*, who is old and therefore unimportant or less susceptible, rather than on the bridegroom, just as the reaping and sowing of crops are initiated by old persons who have in any case little to expect of life, are of little value to the community as fighting, working, or breeding units, or perhaps who are so tough as to be able the better to withstand evil influences, for it is clear that young infants are the most vulnerable. The *anisu* is asked whether he comes with the authority of the intending bridegroom's parents. He answers "Yes," and asks for the girl. Assent is given, after which he kills a pig and cuts up the meat. After this a breach of the promise of marriage by either party without cause entails liability to a fine, usually of from Rs. 5/- upwards, according to the social position of the injured party.

The time that may elapse between the betrothal and the marriage may be almost anything from days to years, for in the Tizu valley the children of rich men are sometimes betrothed before they reach puberty, and though in such cases the actual marriage sometimes takes place before puberty,[1] it is more common for a betrothal to take place and the marriage to follow when the parties are of a suitable age.

Before the day fixed for the marriage the *anisu* takes a piece of salt and a dog and visits the house of the bride's parents. He (or she) puts the salt into the thatch of the roof from inside the house, where it remains untouched, and gives the dog to the bride's parents. This visit is followed by one by the bridegroom, who is accompanied by a friend or relative chosen for his cleverness, who argues the question of price with the bride's parents, doing his best to reduce it. When the price is finally fixed, the cattle, etc., are brought over the same evening from the bridegroom's house if the parties are in the same village. If the bride lives in

[1] Cohabitation does not take place in the case of such marriages until the parties are fit for it. They return to their parents' houses for the time being, as a rule. Such early marriages usually take place for more or less political reasons.

a distant village, the approximate amount of the bride-price is conveyed by friends of the bridegroom some way behind, and if after all they have not brought enough they hand over what they have and indicate to the bride's parents other cattle in their village which they will add to the price. When the bride's parents have expressed themselves satisfied, a pig brought by the bridegroom's party and called *azazhunala* (? = " way to mother-beholding ") is killed and cut up. This completes the contract, and the essential transfer of the girl from the *potestas* of her father to her husband is complete. The fragments of the pig are given to the bride's relations (the bride may not taste it), and each one that receives a fragment pays a basket of paddy, which is sent with the bride to her new house. The bridegroom's party then name the date, not before the third day under any circumstances, on which they will come for the bride. Against that date the bride's relations get ready. Drink and food are prepared to entertain the bridegroom's party, all the paddy which is to be sent along with the bride is got ready, and whatever else she is to take with her.

On the day appointed the bridegroom comes with a party of his relations to carry away the bride and her stuff. The latter, consisting of a considerable amount of paddy together with the bride's dowry of cloths and ornaments, is all arranged ready outside her parents' house. The bridegroom's party, having arrived, eat and drink with the bride's people, and after that start back to their own village. The *anisu* must be the first to pick up a load and give it to someone to carry. Then a procession starts to the bridegroom's house. First goes a warrior in full kit and carrying a spear in one hand and a dao in the other. He is called *akeshōu*. After him goes the *anisu*, likewise, if a man, with spear and dao. After the *anisu* comes the bride, a narrow red and yellow circlet of plaited cane round her head, and a chicken in her hand, and a woman's staff which has a wooden top shod with a long iron butt-piece. In some cases the bride carries a dao instead, which she presents to her husband. After the bride comes her personal property, carried by a man specially chosen for the purpose and called

aboshōu. He also carries food for her to eat on the way, as she may not eat after her arrival. The *aboshou* is followed by the bride's paternal aunt (*ani*), preferably her father's elder sister, but a younger sister or, if no sister is available, a female cousin on the father's side will do. She is called for the occasion *akawoku-pfu* in virtue of carrying the bride's *akawoku*—a "work-basket" containing balls of thread, a spindle, etc., symbolical of her duty in life. This is carried even in the case of the Tizu valley Semas, who do not know how to spin or weave. After the *akawoku-pfu* come the bride's brothers and her mother and other relations, excepting her father, who is not allowed to accompany the bride, together with the bridegroom and his relations, in no particular order of precedence. All, of course, go in single file and march to the usual accompaniment of meaningless chants and loud cries. On arrival the property is put into the bridegroom's own house. The bride and her mother and relations sleep there, but may not eat in it. They eat (except the bride, who must fast) in the house of the bridegroom's parents. The bridegroom may not sleep in his own house that night. The next morning the bride and the *aboshou* first eat together in the bridegroom's parents' house; then the *aboshou* and the whole of the bride's party, who eat after the *aboshou* and the bride, go home. Small presents are given to the *anisu*, the *akeshou*, the *aboshou*, and the *akawoku-pfu* by the bridegroom, and also to the *aluzhitoemi*, or captain of the working gang of which the bride was a member. The latter's present consists of a chicken and a handful of small beans, and is called *mini-lha-me* ("petticoat stripping-off price"). The *akeshou* and the *aboshou* usually get about Rs. 2/- each, and the *akawoku-pfu* Rs. 5/-. The bride's mother is given a hoe by the bridegroom.[1] When the *anisu* is a woman she gets a basket of each sort of cereal brought by the bride, but these payments vary a good deal. For that doy the newly-married pair observe *pini* and may not go to the fields, and the bride may not even go to cut wood or draw water. In the evening the *anisu* kills the chicken brought by the

[1] This is not given if the bride has been married before.

bride, and the bride gives liquor to the bridegroom's relations. The chicken is cooked and eaten by the newly-married couple, who sleep together in the bridegroom's house that night, the ceremony being entirely concluded.

By the custom called *agasho* a man, or his heir male, can claim a payment on the marriage of his sister's first child, male or female. The amount used to be a black cloth, but is now Rs. 5/-. Failing payment a field is liable to be confiscated and sold.

Divorce. No ceremony accompanies divorce, but if a woman is divorced for adultery she or her parents or their representatives have to pay a cow to the injured husband. Moreover, the marriage price has to be returned to him if such a divorce takes place within three years of the marriage. The paramour is beaten if he is caught, and if he has ventured to interfere with a chief's wife he is turned out of the village and his property confiscated. If the husband divorces his wife for any other fault within three years of marriage he may claim back the price paid for her, but not after that date, though he can claim it if she divorces herself by refusing to live with him. If, however, he systematically ill-treats her without cause he loses the claim.[1]

Death Ceremonies. The Sema views as to the soul and its survival after death have already been dealt with, but to understand the observances attending death it is necessary to bear them in mind. It has been seen that the episode of death is to some extent regarded as due to a voluntary desertion on the part of the departing soul, always a source of anxiety on account of its liability to stray. It would appear, however, that there is something contagious about dying, and that association with death is liable to cause it. Merely to spread an untrue report of a man's death may cause it in itself, and the penalty for doing this serious injury is a heavy fine, usually about four mithan. Possibly the fact of a man being reported dead gives malicious spirits some hold over him, just as to mention the name of an infant (or even of an adult if done

[1] See also Part III, Position of Women, etc. The right to a return of the price within three years of marriage does not hold good for all Semas.

often and persistently) is enough to cause death. Again the grave is begun as soon as a man is dead, but should he prove to be merely unconscious and recover, it is essential that some substitute should be buried, and his own stool (*alaku*) is wrapped in a cloth and put in the grave in his stead.[1] The stool is chosen as, like the bed (*alipa*), it is so closely associated with its owner as to contain some part of his essence, as it were, in virtue of which it is absolutely genna at any time to cut or burn a person's stool or bed, while it is very bad form to sit on the bed of a Sema chief unless invited by him to do so. Until the actual burial the dead man's household may eat and drink as usual, but after the burial has once taken place no one of the household may eat again that day, and on the following morning *akini* seed (*Perilla ocimoides*, L.) is pounded up, made into a paste with hot water, and put into the mouth on a bit of thatching grass stalk. It is spat out, and after that all the dishes and vessels in the house are washed, to cleanse them, no doubt, from any death-pollution which might affect others using them. A meal is then taken as usual.[2]

On the second day after the death a pig is killed, and the dead man's share of flesh, torn up into very fine fragments such as a ghost can manipulate, is put for him in a platter with rice, chillies, etc., covered up with leaves and set on a shelf for the ghost, who helps himself to minute particles. Pieces of meat not torn up are sometimes set there, and it is known that the ghost has partaken by his infinitesimal nibblings. For ten days not only the whole household but everyone in the village who belongs to deceased's clan observes *pini*, not going to the fields and abstaining from all vegetables. On the tenth day the house is cleaned out and the genna is at an end.

The method of burial is as follows. A grave is dug breast

[1] This was done in the case of one Kiyakhu of Aochagalimi, an acquaintance of mine. *Cf.* "The Golden Bough," vol. viii (3rd ed.), pp. 98, 100.

[2] The ceremonies of death and burial are recorded as observed in the Zumomi village of Kiyeshe.

deep in front of the house[1] and usually a little to the left. This grave is lined with hewn planks of wood at the bottom and sides and with bamboo matting at the ends. The body is laid face upwards, the head at the end nearest the house, on the plank at the bottom at full length, with a spear at his side, a dao at his head, and a dao carrier, at least one string of conch shell beads (*ashogho*), cloths up to about seven or eight, and a spare "lengta." Asimi villages put a bead and some fragments of foodstuffs between all the fingers of their dead. In the ears are wads of fresh cotton put in by some near relation.[2] A peg-top (*aketsü*), a snare for birds (*aküsu*), and a pipe and tobacco accompany the dead warrior. A boy is given a sharpened bamboo instead of a spear, while a woman, in place of spear and dao, is given the iron-shod stick that she used in her lifetime. In place of the peg-top she takes a single bean of the pod of the great sword-bean (*alau*), together with a springy slip of bamboo taken from the wall of the house. This serves the same purpose to her as the peg-top does to the male, for she uses it to delude *Kolavo*[3] when she comes to the narrow way where he lies in wait for passing souls seeking whom he may devour. He sits in the path with a truculent air. "My head is full of lice" (*akhu*), says he. "Oh," says she, "let me kill them for you." Then she goes up to him and as he sits there searches his head and starts to click the bamboo slip from time to time as though it were the popping of squashed lice, monsters in size. Suddenly she flicks the bean to a distance. "I will run and catch it," she says, and so slips by and escapes. In the same way a man or boy gets by when pretending to go to fetch his errant peg-

[1] A new-born child that dies, or one that is born dead, is buried inside the house in the *akishekhoh*. An American traveller relates that a Sema told him that he buried a young girl, his daughter, inside the house because she would be frightened to be left outside alone at night, but the actual age of the child is not given ("Ethnography of Nagas of Eastern Assam," Furness, *Journal of Anthropological Institute*, 1902, vol. xxxii).

[2] This service is performed by any near relation, mother, wife, brother, etc.

[3] Metsimo, the Angami equivalent, makes every passing soul eat a monster nit from his head unless he is already eating one, so that a black seed is put in the mouth of the dead to deceive him.

GRAVES IN FRONT OF A HOUSE AT EMILOMI. THE GRAVES ARE TO THE RIGHT FRONT INSTEAD OF TO THE LEFT FRONT AS IS CUSTOMARY. AS USUAL THE MAN'S GRAVE IS FENCED, WHILE HIS WIFE'S HAS NO FENCE.

ATHEGHWO AT PHILIMI VILLAGE.

[*To face p.* 245.

top. When the body has been laid in the grave a piece of resinous pinewood is taken and lit, and the body is fumigated to drive away worms and flies and insects by waving the torch round it to the words "*Ni'ya liki kumoike, Ina cheghi 'ya ke, ina kuku 'ya ke,*" which is, being interpreted, "It befalls not our clan alone. Men of all villages that can be named come to this."[1] Cross-pieces of stick are then put across the grave over the body, being thrust into the earth on each side just above the planks that form the lining of the sides. Over these another plank is put to form the lid, as it were, of the grave, and on the top of that the earth is heaped in and piled up. In the process of this a chicken is killed and buried by stamping it into the earth that is being put into the grave. All the earth taken from the grave is put back so that when the grave is completed there is a mound over it. On this mound a piece of bamboo is set upright, the bottom sharpened and thrust into the earth, the top split, splayed out, and made into the form of a basket by the interweaving of horizontal strips. This is used as a stand for a gourd of liquor. For a man of importance a fence is made round the mound and a little roof of thatch put up.

On the day of burial cattle and pigs are killed and the skulls put up on a sort of fence or rack erected for that purpose along with the skulls of those slaughtered by the dead man during his lifetime, the souls of which he either takes with him to the village of the dead or finds already awaiting him there. At right angles to this fence down another side of the grave is put a rail of bamboo on which cloths and ornaments belonging to the dead man are hung, as well as a miniature panji basket with "panjis" and his shield, while a spear or two are stuck into the ground beside them. To the inside of the shield a fire-stick and thongs for

[1] Lit. "Our clan (custom) alone is not. Villages ten custom is; villages call-call custom is." The language is archaic. Ten is used as the equivalent of a very high number where the Sema ordinarily uses *ketonhye*, "a thousand," nowadays. Perhaps it dates from the time when counting did not go beyond ten. *Kuku* in the last clause is obscure, but is believed to be from the *ku* = to call. *Ina* = *ghana*, "a village community." *Aya* is the southern form of *aye* = "clan," "custom."

making fire are tied. The disposal of a dead man's dog varies. The prevailing custom has been described, a dead man's favourite dog being killed and buried in his grave after his body has been put in and before the earth is thrown back. The Zumomi, however, cut up the dog together with the cattle and distribute its flesh to all guests at the funeral who are not of the same clan as the dead man. The Chophimi clan divides the flesh of a dog killed in this way among all the guests. A dead man is systematically keened by his female relatives, and his widows will often keen him for some time after his death and burial.

Occasionally a wooden statue of the deceased nearly life-size is made and set up clothed in his ornaments over the grave, but this appears to be merely imitation of the Angamis and not a genuine Sema custom. It is rarely done. If the dead man is a warrior, a bamboo pole is erected from which dangles a string supporting a gourd for each head at the taking of which he has assisted, and an earthen pot for each head he has actually taken himself.[1] After a man has taken a head himself an enemy's cattle and even dogs killed by him are counted when reckoning the number of gourds to be put up. Besides these, little baskets are hung up representing the number of raids or warlike expeditions in which the dead man has carried panjis or otherwise taken part. In some Asimi villages the memory of a rich man is perpetuated by a shallow circle of flat stones set in the ground so as to slope away from the centre of the circle at an obtuse angle. Stone circles of this sort are called *atheghwo*.[2]

When a woman *in extremis* is visited by her parents they take a bit of stick from the gable of her house. When they have said all they wish to say they place the stick by the dying woman's bed and cut it in two, thus releasing the life so that their daughter can die in comfort.

[1] Mr. Mills tells me he has seen a tally of the dead man's liaisons put up on a Sema's grave in the form of little sticks carrying a tuft each of red hair. He was told that to touch a woman's breasts would qualify for one of these.

[2] Kacha Nagas build similar circles for the same purpose.

Warrior's Grave at Satami. The Basket-work Balls and Inverted Pots Hanging up are a Tally of the Dead Man's Exploits.

Grave and Statue (in the Angami Style) of Phuïshe of Vekohomi.

[*To face p.* 246

In the case of a woman it is a matter of strict etiquette that as many should attend at her funeral as accompanied her on her wedding day from her father's to her husband's house.

There is no positive orientation of the dead, but a negative orientation, as they must not, when buried, look towards the house in which they lived when alive.

There remain a few miscellaneous items of semi-religious belief which it is difficult to assign to any particular category. The *thumomi* have already been mentioned in their connection with the healing of the sick, but their activities are not limited to this. The *thumomi* is essentially a seer, the Greek μαντίς, an interpreter of omens, a dreamer, clairvoyant. Second sight he no doubt often has in some degree or other, and since it is an intermittent gift, he must simulate it when absent, for the sake of his reputation, and descend to deception just as a European medium does. In general the *thumomi* is in some degree possessed and is sometimes subject to fits somewhat resembling epilepsy. In particular, it is true, he diagnoses and recommends upon cases of sickness and also upon the probable success or failure of contemplated trading ventures, but he may be consulted on anything from the detection of theft to the foretelling of the future, though in the latter case he usually restricts himself to advising that good or bad will probably follow a certain course of action or the observing of certain gennas. Omens may be taken by anyone, though certain persons and *thumomi* in particular have the faculty of obtaining correct results. The commonest method is by the use of the fire-stick, the omen being taken from the disposition of the broken strands of the bamboo thong after it has been charred through to breaking point by the friction. Dreams, like omens, are not the exclusive province of the *thumomi*, and happen to anyone. Indeed most Semas believe in their own dreams, and take note of them as forecasting events to come, in particular those of hunting and war. A dream is not interpreted in the terms in which it occurs, but on a regular and known system. Thus to dream of bringing in a human head forecasts success in hunting, but the opposite

in war.[1] To dream of a man carrying a load means that someone will be injured, and so forth. Of course all dreams cannot be reduced to formulæ, so that there is plenty of scope for the exercise of the imagination of the dreamer or of anyone he consults in the interpretation of them.

Second sight also is far from being confined to *thumomi*. Very early in the morning before daybreak on April 13, 1918, some Sema scouts and carriers attached to the column operating against the Kuki Chief Chenjapao burnt a Kuki village after a brush with a Kuki patrol and succeeded in taking a head. They marched back to the camp singing pæans, arriving at about 8.15 a.m. The leaders of the party were Nikiye, Sakhalu's brother, and Sakhalu himself, and the carriers who went included a large proportion of men from that village, one of whom killed the Kuki, whose head Sakhalu cut off. The following night (April 13) many persons in Sakhalu's village (six marches distant) clearly heard the chanting of the pæans of the successful raiders. A number, however, were, even when their attention was directed to it, totally unable to hear the singing, but it was at once known and recognised throughout the village that their fellow villagers with the column had got a head. No natural explanation of this phenomenon is possible. Semas in administered villages do not take heads, or if they do, they do not advertise their wrong-doing by singing pæans that can be heard for miles at night, while verbal communication with the column was out of the question. Nor had any heads been taken or pæans sung by the independent villages across the other side of the Tizu valley. This instance cannot strictly perhaps be called second sight, but is clearly of that nature. Two or three cases also occurred within the writer's knowledge in regard to labourers who had gone to France with the Naga Labour Corps. They may have been pure coincidence, but a similar explanation certainly suggests itself. It

[1] And usually to dream of dead animals' flesh foretells human death. A curious parallel may be found in the English superstition (for presumably there is one) which causes Mr. Vachell in one of his novels to make a character dream of butcher's meat and therefore predict misfortune. This was pointed out to me by Mr. J. P. Mills.

happened three times that relations of an absent labourer came to the writer to ask if it were true that So-and-so (in France) was dead, refusing to say any more than that they had heard that he was dead. On each occasion no casualty report had been received, nor could any news of the labourers' death have reached their relations by material channels, but the death reports were received in each case[1] about two months later.

Wraiths of the living are also seen. On June 11, 1918, Hotoi and Luzukhu (two interpreters), with four servants, went out to meet some friends expected to arrive that day at Mokokchung from a distant village. They saw them coming towards them up the hill, called to them, and were answered. The approaching guests disappeared for a moment in a bend in the path. Hotoi and Luzukhu waited for some time and, being unable to conceive why they did not appear again, went to look. They found no one at all in the angle of the path, and it was not possible for them to have gone off in any other direction. The expected guests arrived the following day. A similar case occurred in Sheyepu about the same time. A man from another village came to the village to trade, spoke to several people, and was seen and recognised by many. It was, however, only a wraith, as the man himself came two days later and said the same things as his wraith had said to the same persons. He avowed that he had not been present at all on the previous occasion.[2] The psychic experiences of Semas differ little on the whole from those of more cultured societies.

Nature.

The forces and phenomena of Nature, though not definitely deified by the Semas, are often regarded as the manifestations or abodes of spirits. In the case of the sun and moon they are not worshipped or deified, and no clear conception at all is entertained of their nature. They are regarded as phenomena, and their existence is taken as a matter of course, but they are called upon to witness oaths and

[1] One was a Chang, two were Semas.

[2] I am indebted to Mr. Mills for drawing my attention to these two incidents.

asseverations, and cannot be falsely invoked with impunity. Their functions used to be the opposite of what they now are, as the sun shone by night and the moon by day, but the heat of the moon was so intolerable that the earth and all that is therein was becoming scorched up entirely. At last a man took a handful of dung—a cow-pat—and threw it at the moon's face, telling it to shine at night only, when its light would be less intolerable, and to let the sun shine by day instead. This change took place, and the cow-dung is still to be seen sticking to the moon's face.[1] In this story the daily change from darkness to light is apparently regarded as a phenomenon independent of the sun and moon. The word for sun is *tsükinhye* (? = " Eye [2] of heaven's house "). The moon is *akhi*, the same word being used for month.

Eclipses are said to be caused by a tiger eating the sun or moon, as the case may be, and in the case of the former they foretell the death of some great man within the year.

The stars (*ayeh*) are believed to be, in some cases at any rate, men who have been translated to the heavens after their death. A comet is always regarded as the soul of some great warrior. Only a few of the stars and constellations are named, and these, as might be expected, are the more striking of the ones that appear in the cold weather when night after night the sky is clear. In the rains it is so overcast that one rarely sees the stars at all. The Pleiades, as always, have caught the fancy. They are very bright and clear in this latitude for all their minuteness, and it is often possible to count seven and sometimes nine of them, though all do not seem to be visible at the same moment. The Semas, however, seem to notice the six larger ones only as a rule,[3] though they say that there used to be seven,

[1] The Kukis have a similar legend regarding the changing about of the sun and moon, though the incident of throwing dung is omitted. There is also a Mexican story which ascribes the diminution in the moon's brightness, which used to equal that of the sun, to the gods having flung a rabbit in its face (*Man*, November, 1918, p. 165).

[2] Or "node."

[3] Unless they regard these stars as moving about, which is not unlikely, as it seems impossible with the naked eye to see even seven at the same moment, and the effect is not unlike that of a star popping in and out at

reminding one of the Greek tradition that the seventh star of the Pleiades (*Pleione*) had fled at the time of the Trojan War. The Semas call the Pleiades *Ayenikilimi*, "The Star Princesses."[1] They were a company of pretty girls who were spinning and making liquor in a rich man's house when they were killed in a sudden raid on the village. They still dance in the heavens as they did on the earth.

The Belt of Orion is the most obvious of all constellations to those who live in these hills. It is known as *Phoghwosülesipfemi*, the "Rooftree-carriers," and was once three men who were killed by their enemies as they were carrying a tree to make the roof-beam of a house. The small stars that form the sword or scabbard are sometimes regarded as the enemies that ambushed the "Rooftree-carriers."

The Milky Way is known as *Azüghongu* or *Aïzüghongu*, "The Soul-River."[2]

No distinction other than that of size is drawn between

different places. Thus the Gurkhas call them *Kochhpachi*, the "hurly-burly." Sir James Frazer ("The Golden Bough," 3rd ed., vol. vii, pp. 307, note 2, 312, line 1, and note on the Pleiades, *passim*) suggests that savages see no more than six because of defective vision. As the vision of Nagas is usually very keen, I doubt if this explanation of the reason why only six are usually seen is the real one. It is more likely mere inattention. I have known men, when asked how many there are, reply, "I can't say, I never counted them." On the other hand, the Angamis see seven and say so. They were, in Angami story, seven men who were killed by raiders while digging up bamboo rats, and seven is an unlucky number among the Angamis, and parties of seven are strictly avoided by traders or warriors on the warpath or a-hunting. Meches, too, call the Pleiades the Seven Brothers. The visibility of Pleione seems to vary in the Naga Hills. In the winter of 1915–16 I frequently noticed the star distinctly, while in that of 1918–19 I was unable to detect it without field-glasses (in spite of a very clear sky) as anything more than a blurred or twinkling aspect of Atlas.

The Thado Kukis say that the Pleiades are a number of brothers who only had one cloth between them and had to cover themselves with it all at the same time. To the belt and sword of Orion they give the name of a rat that digs its hole deep down in a direct line from the surface of the ground and then turns off at right angles. Shooting stars, they say, are going to the "deka chang" or bachelors' hall, and they have a song which represents them as calling to the other stars to join them there.

[1] *Aye* = star, *niki-limi* = *kinilimi* (fem. of *kinimi*), "rich girls."

[2] It might mean merely the reflection of a river: *aghonugu* = shadow, reflection, soul; *azü* = water; *aïzü* = a river, pool, or stretch of still deep water; but "river-soul" is perhaps more likely.

the smaller stars (*ayesü*) and the planets or big stars (*ayepu*). Of the planets, Venus is known as "The Sema Star" (*Siyepu*); another, probably Mercury, as "The Tushomi Star" (*Tushyepu*). The identity of Venus when she appears as the morning star with her appearance as the evening star seems to be realised. Falling or shooting stars are just *ayeba*—"star-dung."

In June, 1915, the villages of Alapfumi and Lumitsami saw a moon and a sun[1] rise together in the east. On the appearance of this phenomenon all the young rice died, but when an hour or so later the sun was seen to shine by himself as usual, the rice took heart again, no doubt, for the young plants revived. The occurrence was believed unprecedented, but was thought to be possibly connected with a recent epidemic in Lumitsami. Anyhow, a strict genna was observed by that village, which abstained from eating vegetables during its observance.

Earthquakes (*tsutsü-kogholu*, prob. = "world rending"[2]) are caused by some spirits raising the earth as though it were paddy, to test the weight and fruitfulness of it. They are usually followed by a poor harvest.[3]

The rainbow (*milesü*) is spoken of as "The Seraph's foot" (*kungumi 'pukhu*) and rests upon earth in some spot where a sacrifice has been made in the fields. Should it fall in a village it portends the death in war within the year of someone in that village.

Lightning—sheet lightning, that is—is the "Flashing of Iki's dao," Iki being a fabled fellow of excessive cunning who cheated the tiger more than once as well as his fellow men.[4] But no further explanation is forthcoming as to what Iki is doing flashing his dao in the sky. Forked lightning is called *amusuh* and marks the fall of a celt and the wrath of heaven

[1] Or, as some said, two suns.

[2] Or *tsutsilü*, perhaps = "heaven-shivering."

[3] The Kukis in the event of an earthquake call out "We are alive; we are alive," so that the god under the earth, who is conceived of as shaking it to find out if men still inhabit it, shall know they are there and desist. They also attribute earthquakes to the presence of a great snake that coils round the world. When it succeeds in biting its own tail the earth is shaken.

[4] See Part VI.

on the stricken object. Thunder is *atsütsütsü* (= "Heaven-tearing") or *tsütsüküssü*.

The conception in the Sema mind of a river, at any rate a large river, appears to be rather that of a conscious and personate being rather than merely the abode of a spirit. Thus one of the few really serious oaths that can be administered to Semas is that on the water of the Tapu (Dayang) River, a small quantity of which is drunk by the swearer. Even a man who has sworn truly on Dayang water will often be afraid of crossing it or of eating fish from it, lest he should have taken its name in vain and not be held guiltless. The same probably applies to other rivers such as the Tuzü (Tizu), the Nanga (Dikhu), and the Tütsa (Tita). It also applies, in a lesser degree probably, to the water of the village spring. So, too, when crossing any biggish river by a bridge, a Sema almost always throws down on it, apparently as a present to the stream, which may object to being crossed in this way, a scrap of greenstuff plucked from the bank or a stone picked up from the path. The thought underlying this is not, however, very clear, and it may be that the bridge itself as such is the abode of some dangerous spirit, just as the Semas who went to France with the Labour Corps, when getting into a railway train for the first time, dropped copper coins in considerable numbers on the railway track to propitiate the spirits that belonged to it.

Stones are also the subjects of some beliefs which are, from the civilised point of view, decidedly radical. The idea that stones can breed, begetting and conceiving offspring, is not easy to assimilate, but the *aghucho*, "war-stones," have been already mentioned.[1] Like them, too, the charm-stones (*anagha*, *ashegha*) breed and increase. *Anagha* are kept in the paddy and conduce to plentiful crops, ensure their lasting well, and among other duties fight the mice that

[1] There seems to be a legend about a stone called Puzi at Champhimi, or on the ridge near that village, having been overthrown by the mountain Tukahu. Possibly this story reflects some tradition of the overthrow or expulsion of Rengmas by Semas or of Semas by Angamis. One may compare the traditions of the fighting stones of the Khasia hills, or Duilong, the Lhota stone which overthrew the stone at Changchang of the Ao tribe,

come to eat and despoil. In proof of this, every true *anagha* has on its surface the marks where mice have bitten it. These marks are, curiously enough, exactly like the imprint of a rodent's gnawing.[1] The stones are usually smallish, heavy nodules about the size of a pigeon's egg or bigger, round or oval, and black. When rubbed with the finger a wet smear appears. If burnt they make, it is said, a very loud report. They also have a disconcerting habit of running away and hiding in unexpected places. While the round or oval charm-stones are called *anagha* and associated with rice, the irregular ones are compared to the hind leg of a pig, the head of a deer, etc., and contribute to plenteousness of flesh, whether wild or tame. These are called *ashegha* and kept in the house to ensure success in hunting and the prosperity and fruitfulness of livestock. The probable derivation is from the root of *teghami*; *anagha* <*ana* = "husked rice" and (*te*)*gha* = "spirit," *ashegha* <*ashe* = "deer," "game" (or *ashi* = "meat," probably the same word originally), and *-gha*. It is probable, however, that the significance of the derivation is not realised, as the stones are not regarded as real *teghami*, though they are often held to have a more or less animate existence and certainly to act as prosperity charms. They are taken out at times and pig's fat is put on them for their delectation and nourishment.

A black stone about 18 inches long, picked up in the fields at Natsimi somewhere about the year 1906, had (in

[1] One *anagha* in my possession appears to have been rubbed at one end and the "tooth-marks" at the other appear to be the result of deliberate incisions. It has occurred to me that this stone was intended to be made into an implement, the broader end being rubbed down and worked to a cutting edge and the more pointed being roughened and reduced to form a tang. An Angami once told me that all true charm-stones were elongated. If this supposition is correct, one may imagine how suitable stones of the right material (hard rock, like olivine and serpentine, is rare in the hills) would be saved up and, after the introduction of iron, would survive as treasures, the real purpose for which they had been intended being forgotten, even though many might already be partially worked. The prevalence of "mice's tooth-marks" might be due to the incising of stones when found to make sure that they were of the right texture. Montesinos (*Memorias Antiguas Historiales del Peru*, Hakluyt Soc., 1920, p. 86) mentions small stones identified, like Naga celts, with thunderbolts, kept (as *anagha* by Kacha Nagas) in little baskets, and used as love charms.

CELTS FOUND AT OR NEAR SEROMI VILLAGE.

ANAGHA SHOWING SCARS MADE BY THE TEETH OF THE MICE OR RATS WITH WHICH IT HAS FOUGHT TO PROTECT THE PADDY.

N.B.—The tape measure shows the scale in inches.

IRON BLADES AT PRESENT IN USE AND CELTS FOUND IN SEMA COUNTRY.

1. IRON AXE (OR ADZE) BLADE—*Amoyhu* (*Amkeh*).
2. ,, HOE BLADE, *tafuchi*, IMPORTED FROM YACHUNGR TRIBE.
3. ,, ,, ,, *hango-kupu*.
4. ,, ,, ,, *pushye-kupu*.
5, 6, 7. STONE CELTS.

[*To face p.* 254.

1912) acquired a regular cult. It has an interpreter who communicates with it in dreams, in which it appears as a human being, the stone itself being said to walk about in human form by night. The stone has been put in a niche in a cliff where only one or two can approach at a time. It is said to foretell success or failure in trading ventures, a coin, usually a pice,[1] being handed to the interpreter, who places it on the sloping side of the stone. If it slips off, the omen is bad, if it stays on it is good. The behaviour of the coin depends, as a matter of fact, on the precise spot on which the stone's " dobashi " puts it, as the inclination of the slope varies. The number of pice collected from its devotees by this stone is considerable, and, though he stoutly denies it, the stone's " dobashi " no doubt disposes of them, while he gives out that the stone itself removes them by night. This stone grows, and is incredibly reported to have increased its length by several inches since its first appearance. It had, when the writer saw it, a greasy surface and received a surreptitious finger-print, though leaving no grease on the finger. It is said on more or less reliable information to change colour—possibly under changing atmospheric conditions. Its vogue is considerable among the neighbouring villages, particularly the Rengma villages just west of Natsimi. The approaches to the stone are marked with the remnants of innumerable sacrifices of eggs, fowls, and pigs, and fowls released at the spot were reported to stay there of their own accord. Lazemi has two stones which are kept buried and dug up at irregular intervals of about three years or so at the instance of the principal religious official of the village, who shares the secret of their abiding place with two other old men. These two stones are male and female and, of course, cohabit and breed prolifically ; their existence, safe-keeping, and propitiation (or nourishment) are regarded as essential to the prosperity of the village. The stones, which are buried in the ground, come to the surface of their own accord on the proper date, when they are produced and feasted, after which they are buried again in secret by the three old men.

[1] Value one farthing or so of English money, but with greater purchasing power locally.

With reference to these beliefs in Natsimi and Lazemi, it is to be remembered that both villages are west of the Dayang and in closer contact with Lhota practices than the majority of the Sema tribe. The cult of stones is marked among the Lhotas, but is not particularly noticeable among Semas in general. There are, however, certain stones which are looked upon with some superstitious feelings. By the side of the bridle-path from Mokokchung to Lumāmi there is an outcrop of shaly reddish sandstone to which every passer-by makes a present[1]—usually a pebble or a bit of stone picked up from the path and tossed casually on to the stone while going by. Again, between Alapfumi and Lumitsami the path is in one place cut in the rock. This is a crumbling bit of cliff with gaping strata which harbour a number of snakes. It is regarded as a special home of some spirit, and the Semas of some adjacent villages object most strongly to its being cut away to improve the bridle-path, and will not do the work themselves on any account ; nor is it regarded as anything but rash in the extreme, if not actually mischievous or impious, to try to kill any snake living in the cracks in that rock. A man once tried to do so. He failed, but nearly died himself as a result of his attempt.

Celts, as already noted, are called *Poghupu-moghü* (*i.e.*, "Toad axes"),[2] and are believed to be thunderbolts falling

[1] Alternative explanations (*vide* "The Golden Bough," 3rd ed., vol. ix, p. 9 *et sqq.*) have occurred to me, but there is no evidence to suggest any explanation of this particular case as other than one in which presents are offered to the stone. The Semas themselves so describe it. It is possible that these stones, and the similar presents of stones and grass offered when crossing a river by a bridge, were originally substitutes offered to the spirit of the place, to be accepted by him in lieu of the person of the passer-by, as an alternative subject for his unpleasant attentions. If so, this would seem to have been forgotten. It may perhaps be inferred from note 4 on p. 9 of the passage in "The Golden Bough" referred to that actions of this sort may gradually have developed into the mere offering of gifts in other parts of the world also. That the Semas regard them nowadays as propitiatory offerings is probably established by the offerings of "pice" given to the railway by the Sema labourers as above mentioned.

[2] Almost all other tribes speak of them as "spirit hoes," "god-axes," etc., *e.g.*, *Müghka-wo* (= "spirit's hoe"—Chang), *Potso-phu* (= "god-

in a flash of lightning. The real essence returns to heaven, the mere husk only remaining on earth. The name is probably significant of the connection between the Toad and Kichimiya, the spirit of fruitfulness, who gives the crops. The Toad is his friend, though no one seems to know much more about the relationship between them. The possession of celts is not, as a rule, so highly prized by Semas as by Angamis. The Sema who finds a celt, however, does not (like the Lhota) refuse to touch it. He always keeps it and believes that it causes fertility to his beans and possibly to his other crops of minor importance. He often uses it as a whetstone. Celts used to be found with some frequency near Seromi, Yehimi, and Tichipami. They are highly reminiscent of Naga iron implements, having plano-convex edges (flat one side, rounded the other, like a Naga dao)[1] and slightly indented shoulders so as to facilitate fitting to a wooden handle. The flat surfaces of the blade end are polished, but the round ones of the tang end are left rough. The stone of which they are made is, as a rule, either a greenish stone resembling serpentine, or a black stone of almost exactly the same appearance as the *anagha* and *ashegha*. There are two types, the majority being more or less triangular with some attempt at making shoulders, and the others longer with less difference in width and no attempt at shouldering. The wear of the latter exactly corresponds to the wear of the average iron hoe, the right-hand corner (as the hoe is held when in use) being much worn. They vary in length from 5 inches to 1½ or less, in breadth from

axe "—Lhota), *Kutakr-pu* (or *vu* = "god-axe "—Ao), etc. The Angami, however, does not use any such expression. The Kuki, while using another word, nevertheless says that celts are the hoes of the sky-spirit, and they explain the fact that they are occasionally picked up by human beings by relating how sometimes, when the sky-spirit is laboriously working at the perfection of his hoes, he is infuriated by the incessant shrilling of the cicada and hurls his unfinished implement at the tormentor. Thus it falls to the ground and is found of mortals. To anyone who has suffered at the cicada's hands the story is most convincing.

[1] I have only once seen a Naga dao that was not plano-convex. It was a Konyak dao fresh from the forge at Wakching with a flat edge on both sides. I fancy it was about the first Naga dao ever made so. That was in 1916, but I have not seen any more since.

3¼ inches to about half an inch, and in thickness from nearly 1½ inches to less than half an inch. As these celts are regarded as "dead" they naturally do not breed. It may be added that in the same way any charm-stone can be killed by inflicting a wound or burning it, so that a clipped charm-stone has no virtue, though this does not apply to the wounds of mice's teeth, which are the proof of its genuineness. It is probably not so very long, comparatively speaking, since the Semas acquired the use of iron. Mr. Ogle in 1875, when he visited Chishilimi surveying, noticed[1] that "3 or 4 inches" of worn spear butt would fetch a rupee, and that when the rupee, in the Naga Hills at any rate, was worth far more than it is now. Two annas would be about the present value.

Beliefs attaching to animals are, of course, legion, and a book might be made of them alone. Many have been touched on already, and some will be found embodied in the stories in Part VI, but one or two instances may here be given of the sort of powers with which animals are credited. A leech if cut in half dies. If cut in three pieces, however, a little bird takes the middle part as his share and joins the two end parts together by way of return. This belief appears to be common to all Naga tribes and is, at any rate, known to Semas, Lhotas, Aos, Changs, and Phoms. The leech, of course, is one of the minor trials of the hills, as it swarms everywhere throughout all jungles in the rains, and the word for leech [2] is one of the comparatively few words that are very patently traceable to a common root among most of the Naga tribes. Again there is the flying fox [3] called *agho*, which flies over the Sema country in the cold weather and goes in orderly formations, but returns, it is said, in a disorderly rout. These "birds" are held to be going to

[1] Para. 11, Appendix A to the "Report on the Survey Operations in the Naga Hills, 1875–76."

[2] Angami—*reva*. Kacha Naga (Lyengmai)—*the-ba-po*.
Chang—*wàth*. Lhota—*iva*.
[Kuki (Thado)—*wat, wa*.] Sema—*aive*.
Kacha Naga (Zemi)—*them-bat*. Sangtam—*avi*.

[3] It is usually spoken of as a bird, and, as it seems rarely found in the Sema country and is only seen when flying, the mistake is not unnatural.

make war on *Toti-ina*, the Amazons' village, which is just east of Murromi, the village of tiger-men already referred to. The disorderly manner in which they return is due to the squabbles they are having about the heads that they have secured. On the way over the hills they commission bees to go and take men's heads for them. The bees go and try to bite off a hair from a man's head, and if they get it and carry it away to the *agho*, the man dies. The passage of these bats over a village is said always to be followed by death.

From *Toti-ina* are believed to come the little gongs of bell metal (probably Singpho work) which are imported from the East and sometimes worn hanging on the front of the cowrie-covered lengtas called *amini-kedah*. And from there, too, come certain spears that are really made by the smiths of the Kalyo-kengyu tribe in their slate-roofed houses in territory still unvisited by white men.

The giant wood-louse that curls himself up into a striped ball the size of a 2 oz. bullet is regarded as a most pernicious insect. When a man goes by, he curls up and stays so for a considerable time, after his manner. Some time later he uncurls. By and by comes a *teghami* hunting the man after the manner of spirits. "Has that man gone by?" says he. "How long since did he pass?" "Oh," says the wood-louse, "he has just gone. I curled up when he came, and I have just uncurled again." So the *teghami* continues the pursuit and, it may be, catches the man. The spider, on the other hand, sees the man go by and goes on spinning his web. When the *teghami* asks the spider the same question the spider replies, "He passed long ago. See! I have spun all this since then!" and shows his cobweb, when the *teghami* gives up hope and his pursuit. Semas seeing the giant wood-louse in the path, stamp on it and destroy it.

A centipede that curls up like an ammonite is called *kitimi-nodu* (= "Dead Man's Earring" or "Ghost's Earring"), a name which, in their own tongue, the Lhotas also give it. The strings of ants that one sees crossing and recrossing paths are going to attack their neighbours, and

it is from them that men first learnt the art of war. The chattering of certain birds foretells the presence of game, or fortune or misfortune in war.

The time of sowing is foretold by the call of the Kasupapo and by the ascendancy of Orion's belt, and the whole Sema calendar depends on the time of sowing. Indeed in some of the more eastern villages there seems to be no real calendar at all, and the times of year are just given names according to the work that is done, the year being reckoned always by the jhums cleared.[1] The items in the programme of the agricultural year are all known and are gone through consecutively in the same order year after year, and the lapse of time is marked by referring to the period of such-and-such an operation, but this can hardly be called a calendar. The Cis-Dayang villages, however, (and probably others which are subject to Angami influences) have a regular calendar of twelve months in the year, as have also the northern Semas, though the months of the latter have different names from those of the former and differ among themselves a good deal. The majority of Semas seem to have no intercalary months, but the Cis-Dayang Semas probably have, like the Angamis, some intercalary days. In any case, the reckoning is both vague and rather arbitrary, and, as it is not written or recorded in any way, it can be roughly corrected from time to time by the arbitrary rulings of the "Old men who know," the unofficial and decidedly untrustworthy trustees of the calendar. It is regarded as genna for the younger men to attempt to keep the reckoning.

The year of the Cis-Dayang Semas begins, like the Angami year, about October, just before the harvest; but the other Semas seem to end their year with harvest-home, beginning it about January. The Cis-Dayang months are given as :—

[1] Thus a man asked his age will say that he can remember such-and-such a field having been cut so many times and the interval between its cutting is so many years. This reckoning is, of course, very vague, as the interval of years between the clearing of a given field and its next clearing tends to decrease considerably as the villages grow.

1. *Akinekhi* (i).
2. *Ghikusokhi.*
3. *Apokusákhi.*
4. *Asophukhi.*
5. *Aposhakhi.*
6. *Athikukhi.*
7. *Aghihukhi.*
8. *Akinekhi* (ii).
9. *Amozakhi.*
10. *Tuluni.*
11. *Kimnyakhi.*
12. *Amthakhi.*

The trans-Dayang Asimi villages probably observe much the same calendar. Of the other Semas, the northern villages observe a calendar as follows :—

1. *Lipikhi.*
2. *Luwokhi.*
3. *Akikishékhi.*
4. *Lusakhi.*
5. *Wozhokhi.*
6. *Mozakhi.*
7. *Mozakhi-akinyu.*
8. *Anyekhi.*
9. *Teghekhi.*
10. *Saghekhi.*
11. *Ghilekhi.*
12. *Aitikupukhi*, or *Aonakuchukhi.*

Obviously, No. 9 of the first calendar corresponds to No. 6 or No. 7 of the second, as does No. 2 in the first to No. 11 in the second. *Ghilekhi* is the month of reaping. *Kimnyakhi* probably corresponds to *Anyekhi*, the month of the *Anye* genna. A certain amount of light is thrown on the connection of the two calendars by the variations from the latter of the southern Tizu valley Zumomi. These have Nos. 4, 5, and 6 of the second calendar identical. *Mozakhi*, however, is followed by *Lurukhi*, and this by *Tulunikhi*, corresponding apparently to No. 10 in the first calendar and apparently also to *Mozakhi-akinyu* in the second, as it is followed by *Kichiminikhi*, which certainly corresponds to *Kimnyakhi* and *Anyekhi*. *Kichiminikhi* is followed by *Lahukhi* and that again by *Saghekhi* (the month of the *Saghe* genna), and then by *Saghe-athuwukhi*, "the month after Saghe," this being followed by *Ghilekhi*. *Lusakhi* marks the burning of the old jhums, *Kichiminikhi* is the month in which the new millet just reaped comes into use, and *Aonakuchukhi* is the month in which the new rice is available for food. The variations in the calendar probably correspond in some degree to variations in agriculture necessitated by differences of climate in different localities.

Generally speaking, the Sema finds it difficult to say offhand either the number of months in the year or their

names, and can only get them in order by a deal of thought. Even then, he generally gets the number wrong, and one is often assured that there are ten months in the year or sometimes even thirteen.[1]

[1] The Changs reckon eleven months to the year and fill in with "*naklig*," a space which is not reckoned at all, but is regarded as night. It may not be counted, as to do so is genna, since it belongs to the spirits. The Changs are careful observers of the sun, and the *naklig* is perhaps the direct result of the detection of the difference between the lunar and the solar year.

ADDENDA

(1) *Twins.* Twins among the Semas are more frequent than among neighbouring tribes. They are on the whole held unfortunate, partly owing to the added trouble to the mother, partly owing to a belief that they are less strong than single children, and that if one die the other will not long survive. Hoito of Sakhalu and his twin sister (p. 144, Ped. III) are quoted as an instance. Some appear to think that the birth of twins is followed by the early death of both parents. More than two children at a birth seems to be unheard of.

(2) "*Apodia*" *deaths.*—Besides death in childbed, death at the hands of lightning, fire, water, or wild animals, or the fall of or from a tree, or by suicide, are regarded as "apodia" (*asükesalo*)—in some way accursed and contagious. The body must not be buried in front of the house, but at the back instead or in broken ground near by where men do not walk about (*cf.* the Garo belief, Playfair, *op. cit.*, p. 105, Garos killed by wild animals being reincarnated in that form).

Animals killed by carnivora are regarded in a similar light and called *ketseshe*. Their flesh may not be eaten by women.

In the case of both men and animals the evil attaching to the manner of death and the prohibitions entailed can be avoided if before expiry the unfortunate can be caused to consume food or drink. It is enough to pour a little water into the mouth of the dying or even to spit into it.

(3) A curse is effected by men naming the one to be cursed, flourishing their daos and spitting in unison. It is evaded by passing a fowl round the person and letting it go into the jungle. It is called *ghapiu*—"devoted to the spirit" or "jungle." The same is done after taking a false oath, etc.

PART V

LANGUAGE

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LANGUAGE

READERS of Herodotus will remember the passage which relates how the Scythians sent Darius a symbolic message consisting of a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows.[1] A similar use of symbolism to convey or merely to emphasise a message is common among all Naga tribes. The commonest symbols used by the Semas are those of a panji, a burnt stick, and a chilli. A challenge to war is usually conveyed by a broken panji. The writer once received a challenge to personal combat purporting to come from the chief of the Yachungr village of Saporr and accompanied by a chilli impaled on a panji, signifying that if he declined the challenge he was only fit to be impaled like a sacrificed dog and would be made to smart with a smarting as of many chillies. In point of fact the message was probably concocted by the village of Sotogorr or by some Semas who had a grudge against Saporr and wished to get the village into trouble. Another of the commonest of all symbols in the Sema country is the laying of greenstuff or any other barrier across a path to intimate to persons following that the man who has preceded them has not followed the path so barred.[2] It is enough, when using such a symbol, merely to throw down in the path which is not to be followed a handful of leaves or grass.

As to the use of symbols, however, most of what has

[1] Herod. iv. 131. So during the Kuki rebellion of 1917–19 a large number of such symbolic messages of the most varied composition were circulated in the hills by the Kukis, an ear-bead meaning "Hear (and obey)!" being usually attached to them.

[2] *Vide infra*, Part VI, story No. xvii.

been said about it in the Angami monograph applies, generally speaking, to the Semas too, and the same may be said of the Sema use of the Assamese language. Indeed, the Assamese language, as used in the Naga Hills, is peculiarly well adapted for the reproduction of Naga idioms, and as a vehicle of interpretation it makes a far better *lingua franca* for the Hills than Hindustani or English would, the substitution of which for Assamese has been occasionally suggested.

The Sema language itself, like that of all Naga tribes, varies both in vocabulary and in pronunciation from village to village. There are, however, certain groups within which the language is comparatively stable. The divergence is most marked between the dialect spoken by Lazemi and the other Semas of the Dayang Valley and that in use in the Tizu Valley. The villages in between differ from both to some extent, but incline decidedly towards the Tizu Valley dialect, from which the Dayang Valley language is so different as not to be ordinarily understood by a Sema not in touch with Dayang Valley villages.

In the Tizu Valley, again, there is considerable difference in pronunciation. The northern villages of the Yepothomi, Awomi, Ayemi, and other clans are apt to clip and shorten their words even more than the Zümomi villages lower down the river. For instance, "*mlai*" becomes "*mla*," "*pilesai*" "*pisai*," and so forth. Particularly noticeable is the dropping of final *i* in the northern villages: "*ani*" becomes "*an*'," *Yehimi* becomes *Yehim*'. Also *ü* at the end of a word is used where the others use *i*, while the *f* in *pf* is dropped entirely. At the same time the vocabulary is very much the same. The villages, however, of the central plateau, such as Sanakesāmi, have many differences of vocabulary as well as differences of pronunciation, and Seromi and its neighbours to the north differ similarly from the Tizu Valley Semas. The village of Aichi-Sagami has a trick of inverting the order of words and even syllables, particularly with interrogations. There is a Sema jest which aptly illustrates the differences of vocabulary from village to village. Seven men of different villages happened to meet by the road one evening. They asked one another

what they had got with them to eat with their rice. Each mentioned a different thing—*atusheh*, *gwomishi*, *mugishi*, *amusa*, *akelho*, etc., including, as some understood it, dried fish, meat, and various kinds of vegetables. They agreed to pool their good things and share alike and sat down prepared for a feast, each one thinking how he had scored by agreeing to share with his neighbours. When they opened their loads, they all produced chillies.

The dialect followed here is, as far as possible, based on that of the Zümomi and other Semas situated round the upper waters of the Kiliki river, and more or less in the centre of the administered parts of the Sema country, as well as on that of the Tizu Valley. The dialect of the Yepothomi Semas on the Upper Tizu differs slightly in pronunciation, but scarcely at all in vocabulary. The vocabulary to this grammar, however, is rather more cosmopolitan, containing words picked up at random anywhere in the Sema country, central Sema forms taking precedence. A few Dayang Valley forms are given in square brackets by way of contrast.

Elisions of vowels or syllables have been marked by an apostrophe, but in the majority of cases the full form has been written. Great difficulty is caused in understanding Sema by the frequency of elisions. Thus *No etadolo izuwuni aie?* (= "Are you going on tour these days?") would be reduced to *No' dolo 'zunyaie?* At the same time actual inversions of letters and syllables, such as *apuku* for *akupu* (leg, foot) or *tikila* for *kitila* (little), are very frequent. A further difficulty is encountered in the tonal nature of the language. Words will be found precisely the same, but differing in meaning according to the tone in which they are pronounced; e.g., *Achuï* pronounced in a high tone means a frog, in a low tone a "serau," while pronounced in a tone midway between the two it means a "green pigeon"; *azhi* (high) = liquor, *azhi* (low) = (1) blood, (2) rat. The number of meanings attaching to one word is a great stumbling-block; *akuhu*, for instance, means red, huluk, bug, root, raw, and other equally disconnected things.

In sentences and words given as examples the verbs "to

come " and " to go " have been generally given with their full root forms *gwogh* and *gwo*. In ordinary speech the abbreviated roots *egh* or *gh* and *gu* or *wu* are much more common.

The quality given to aspirates varies as much as, or even more than, quality given to vowels. The sound represented by *gh*, for instance, varies in practice from an ordinary English " g " to nothing at all. The normal value is a guttural sound something like the Arabic " *ghain* " (غ), but this is often slurred into a mere " w."

The only printed authorities on the Sema language are (1) Sir G. Grierson's " Linguistic Survey of India," vol. iii, part ii, where he includes Sema in the western Naga subgroup of the Naga group ; and (2) the rudimentary grammar by the writer of this monograph, of which the present account is nothing more than a slightly abbreviated revision. The vocabulary and specimens, however, given by Sir George Grierson in his sketch of Sema were probably recorded entirely through the media of other languages and seem to be based primarily on the dialect of Lazemi and the Dayang Valley Semas, which is confined in scope to a few villages, and which is with difficulty understood by the bulk of the tribe.

The brief outline of Sema which follows makes no pretension to being an exhaustive or really scientific grammar,[1] and the vocabulary[2] has been shortened as far as possible by omitting words given elsewhere in the pages preceding it.

[1] A review by Mr. Grant Brown of Mr. Pettigrew's " Tangkhul Naga Grammar " (*Man*, February, 1919) is very severe on persons who have the audacity to reduce an unwritten language to writing in spite of an ignorance of phonetics. The writer's excuse, however, must be that, however bad his attempt may be, it is the best available, as there is probably no other person at all with a knowledge enough both of Sema and English for the purpose, and no previous reduction to writing exists at all, except the section allotted to Sema in Sir George Grierson's work already mentioned.

The alphabet used is approximately that recommended by the Royal Geographical Society, though the doubling of a consonant to indicate the shortening of a preceding vowel has been eschewed as inexpedient. The system does not differ materially from Sir George Grierson's, and it is probably much better suited to practical purposes than the elaborate, if scientific, phonetic alphabet.

[2] See Appendix VI.

The alphabet that follows shows the value given to the letters of the Roman character when used for writing the Sema language, which has, of course, no written character of its own. Vowels have their Continental rather than their English values, and the accent is on the whole evenly distributed, though a faint stress is laid on the first, third, and fifth syllables of a word, in preference to the second, fourth, etc., as a rule. Unusual stresses have been indicated.

(i) CONSONANTS.

(*a*) SIMPLE.

B as in English.
D ditto.
F ditto.
G always hard, as in "gun," except when it is joined with "n" in "*ng*," which is pronounced like the "ng" in "singer," the "g" sound not being carried on to a following vowel.
H as in "Heaven," always sounded when written.
J as in "joy."
K as in English, but perhaps very slightly aspirated.
L as in English.
M ditto.
N ditto, shown as *ṅ* when nasal as in French.
P ditto.
R as "*rr*" in "carry." ("R" is practically non-existent in the language as spoken by the southern Semas and is rare among all Semas, who find the sound difficult to enunciate.)
S as in "this." Always sibilant.
T as in Hindustani with the tongue against the upper teeth.
V as in English.
W ditto.
Y as in "yes"; *always* consonantal and never merely equivalent to a vowel.
Z as in English.

(*b*) ASPIRATED.

Ch as in "church," always soft.[1]

[1] *C* only used in the aspirated form Ch, *Q* and *X* discarded.

Gh represents a peculiar guttural *g* approximating to the Arabic ع (*Gh*ain) and sometimes approaching an "R" sound. "Gh" takes the place in Sema that "R" does in Angami.

Kh as in "funk-hole." Also as the "ch" in the Scotch "loch," in which case it is written *kh*. But the pronunciation varies, as in the case of "*gh*," very considerably, according to the individual speaking or at least his village.

Ph as in "tap-house," not as "f."

Sh as in "shall," but sometimes interchangeable with "s."

Th as in "pot-house," not as in "pith."

Zh as "s" in "treasure" or as the French "j."

All other aspirated consonants are pronounced on the same principle as the pronunciation of *ph* and *th*.

(ii) VOWELS.

(*a*) SIMPLE.

A long as in "father." } The usual value of the vowel is somewhere between these two.
A sharp as in "pant." }

A also occasionally short as *u* in "cut."

E long as *a* in "pay." } Ditto.
E short as in "Hell." }

I long as in "ravine" or as *e* in "me." } Ditto.
I short as in "tin." }

O long as in "go." } Ditto.
O short as in "got." }

O slightly broader than above, perhaps as in "gone," shorter than *oa* in "broad."

U long as *u* in "flute" or as *oo* in "pool." } Ditto.
U short as in "pull." }

U almost as *oe* in German "Goeben," as *u* in "churn," but sometimes tending towards the French *u* of "tu."

(*b*) DIPHTHONGS.

Ai as in "aisle" or as *i* in "ice."

Au as *ow* in "cow."

Oi as *oy* in "oyster."

N.B.—*Ou* is pronounced, not as a true diphthong, but as two more or less distinct sounds. The diæresis is not written to avoid confusion with "ü." *Ao* is a slightly longer sound than *au*, the two vowels being so pronounced that their separate sounds can just be distinguished.

The value of the simple vowel has purposely not been too closely defined. In the first place, the pronunciation of vowels varies considerably, not only between villages, but between individuals. In the second place, the normal value of the vowel is very elusive and varies between the long and short quantities. Where the vowel is very definitely long or short, the marks – for long and ⌣ for short have been used. A pause between two syllables is marked by an apostrophe thus, ‘ , the ordinary apostrophe, ’ , being used for the omission of a vowel. The diæresis is used to mark the separate pronunciation of contiguous vowels, except in the case of the vowel *ü*. The accent from left to right, ˋ , is used to denote the sharp *a*, while that from right to left, ˊ , is used to indicate stress.

THE NUMERAL.

(i) CARDINALS.

1. Laki, khe.
2. Kini.
3. Küthu.
4. Bidhi, bidi.
5. Pongu.
6. Tsogha, soghoh.
7. Tsini.
8. Tache, thache.
9. Tuku.
10. Chüghi.
11. Chüghi-khaki.
12. Chüghi-kini, etc.
17. Muku-ma tsini (*or* chüghi-tsini).[1]
18. Muku-ma thache (*or* chüghi-thache).
19. Muku-ma tuku (*or* chüghi-tuku).[1]

[1] See note on next page.

20. Muku.
21. Muku-khaki.
22. Muku-na kini (*or* muku-kini).
23. Muku-na küthu (*or* muku-küthu), etc.
26. Muku-na tsogho, muku-tsoghoh.
27. Seghi kumpa tsini [seghi kupvuma tsini.[1]]
28. Seghi kumpa thache (etc.).[1]
30. Seghi.
31. Seghi-khaki.
32. Seghi na kini, seghi-kini.
33. Seghi-küthu, etc.
38. Lhobdi toma [upvoma] tache.[1]
40. Lhobdi.
41. Lhobdi-khaki, lhobdi na laki, lhobdi laki.
42. Lhobdi na kini, lhobdi kini.
48. Lhopung toma tache.[1]
50. Lhopungu.
60. Lhotsoghoh.
70. Lhotsini.
80. Lhothache.
90. Lhotuku.
100. Akeh.
110. Akeh na chüghi.
200. Akekini, khekini.
201. Akekini na laki.
300. Akeküthu.
1000. Ketonhyeh, akeh akechüghi.
1100. Ketonhyeh laki no akeh.

In speaking of numbers the word *pana*—the agentive

[1] N.B.—In the case of the last number, and generally of the last three numbers, short of any multiple of ten the number is expressed by saying "the 8 short of 30," "the 7 short of 50," etc., as the case may be. The expression "short of" is expressed by different words in the case of the tens, the twenties, and the multiples of ten above 20. Among the northern Semas the straightforward form is possibly the commoner, except for the nines, which are almost always put in the indirect form. In some of the Tizu Valley villages the indirect form is used for even the sixes, the nearest multiple of ten being always used to reckon from, whether forward or backward. This method, however, is very rapidly becoming obsolete, and the younger generation uses the direct forms even for the "nines."

of the pronoun of the third person—*pa*, is sometimes used ;

e.g. *i nunu pana pongu ani* = (lit.) my children they are five.

Kipitimi pana kini, totimi pana küthu = two boys and three girls.

Imishi pana lhopung anni = I have 50 head of cattle. (Lit.) my cows they are 50.

Khe = one, is used in counting only.

Ketonhyeh, 1000, is used vaguely of very large numbers, like the word " myriad " in English.

(ii) Ordinals.

Ordinals are only found up to three or four places, at any rate among the Semas of the Tizu Valley.

1st—*atheghiu* (*atighishi*).

2nd—(of more than three) *pashelo, atheghiushelo.*

2nd—(out of three) *amithau.*

3rd—(out of more than three) *amithau.*

Last—*athekau.*

Athekau covers all after 2nd or 3rd as the case may be. These ordinals are the terms used for dividing the game got in hunting.

(iii) Distributives.

Singly = *laki laki.*

Two by two = *kini kini*, etc.

(iv) Numeral Adverbs.

Once = *Ohto laki.*

Twice = *Ohto kini.*

Thrice = *Ohto küthu.*

Fourth = *Ohto bidhi*, etc.

Half = *Thükha.*

Fraction, part = *sazhe, asazhe.*

N.B.—The Sema method of counting is clearly based originally on the five fingers of the hand and the ten of the two hands.

Changs, however, go up to the 20 digits of the hands and toes, taking that as a unit, and I have heard a Phom speak of " a whole man " meaning twenty, the maximum number of digits possessed by one man.

THE NOUN.

The Sema noun has two forms—

(1) The complete form, when it is preceded by the entonic *a*.

(2) The enclitic form, when the entonic is dropped ;

e.g. in complete form "*atsa*"="word"—enclitic form "*tsa*."

The complete form is used when the word stands alone or at the beginning of a sentence or is unqualified by a possessive pronoun, or other similar qualifying word immediately preceding it.

The enclitic form is used when the noun is governed by a word preceding it.

e.g. *Amti küniye cheni* = I am come to buy salt.

Pa'mti akevi moi = His salt is not good.

Kiu'tsa pi kya ? "*atsa kaha*"="What word did you say ?" "No word."

There are no cases, the case meanings being expressed by the use of post-positions (*vide infra*). (The personal pronouns, however, have an oblique form) ;

e.g. Give it to Khupu = *Khupu tsülo*.

The plural is sometimes formed by the suffix *ko*, particularly in the Dayang valley,[1] but when the number is obvious from the context, this is usually omitted.

Dobashiko hulao ani = The Dobashis are over there.

Amishi kija aie ? = How many cows are there ?

A common plural is formed in *-uṅ* ; e.g. *apeli-mi* = "brother" (*or* "brothers") > *apeliuṅ* = "brothers"—a definite plural.

The post-position "*vile*" is, however, used almost as an objective case termination. Its proper sense is one of proximity or direction, but "*Ivekuvile pilo*" merely means "tell Iveku." The post-position *-no*, or sometimes *-ye*, is suffixed to the nominative of the verb when the noun represents an agent by which something is done ;

e.g. *Sakhalu-no Abor'limi ipfü ghe* = Sakhalu took the head of an Abor girl.

[1] The plural in *-ko* is not in general use anywhere else.

Arizona State Museum

-ye is used particularly when the noun is, so to speak, in a disjunctive position, e.g. "*O Amiche, O Hocheliye*" (="O Amiche, O Hocheli") in Part VI, story No. XX.

Gender of Nouns.

In the case of human beings sex is denoted by the use of different words, but in the case of animals and birds the sexes are differentiated by the use of certain suffixes distinguishing males, females which have not given birth, and females which have given birth to offspring.

(1) Used in the case of certain domestic animals :—

	Male.	Female that has not given birth.	Female that has given birth.
	Ali.	*Ani.*	*Akhu.*
e.g.	*Atsü* > *atsüli* = a dog.	*atsüani* = a maiden bitch.	*atsükhu* = a brood bitch.
	Awo > *awoli* = a hog.	*awoni* = a sow that has not littered.	*awokhu* = a sow that has littered.

(2) Used in the case of almost all wild animals and one or two domestic animals :—

	Atsü.	*Akhukhoh.*	*Akhu.*
e.g.	*Akaha* >	*akaha'tsü*, a male elephant.	and *akaha 'khukhoh*, etc.
	Avi >	*avitsü*, a bull mithan, etc.	

N.B.—*Ashiki*, a monkey, may take either (1) or (2).

(3) Used for all birds :—

Adu.	*Akhukhoh.*	*Akhu.*

e.g. *Laliu* > *laliudu* (a cock jungle fowl), etc.

Formation from Verbs.

A noun may be formed from verbs by prefixing *Ke* to the root and suffixing *-mi* (man, men) ;

e.g. *ti* = die > *Ketimi* = dead man or dead men.
Puka = thieve > *Kepukami* = thief, thieves.

THE ADJECTIVE.

The adjective follows the noun qualified.

It is not changed for a feminine noun.

Sometimes the entonic *a* is retained and a preceding final vowel, usually *i*, elided, but ordinarily it drops the entonic when following a qualified noun. The entonic is used, not elided, when the adjective is predicative ; e.g. *azhta 'kizhe* = a big dao, *azhta akizhe* = the dao (is) big.

An adjective is formed from the verb by the prefix of *ke* to the root ; e.g. *pi* = speak, > *kepi* = spoken ; *piti* = burn, > *kepiti* = burnt.

Comparison is made by the use of the suffix *-ye*, after the noun with which the subject referred to is compared, followed by the pronoun joined to the adjective of comparison ; e.g. *otsüye itsü pa zhe* = My dog is bigger *than your dog.*

Timi hupauye hipau pa vi = This man is better than that [literally " man that-than this he (is) good."]

A *superlative* is formed by the addition of the suffix *o* to the simple adjective. *Akizhe* = big > *akizheo* = biggest.

" *Choëmi akevi ani, Asimi akevio* " = " The Lhotas are good, but the Semas are the best."

The adjective is sometimes formed into an adverb by the addition of the suffix *-ko, -ku, -kei* ;

e.g. *Allo* good, right > *alloku* well, very.

THE PRONOUN.

Singular.		Plural.	
Ni, *Niye*	= I.	[*niuṅko*] *ni*, *niuṅ*	= We.
Oblique form (always preceding and attached to the govern-word) *i-*			
no	= You.	[*noṅko*] *no*, *noṅ*	= You.

Singular.		Plural.	
Oblique form :—*o-*		[but in agentive *no-*]	
Pa = he, it		[*pananuko*, *pananko*] *panaṅh*	=They.

Oblique form :—pa

e.g. *Ina pike* (or *niye pike*) [1] = *I* said.
Pana i-pike = he said *to me.*
pana otsüvekeana = he gave it *to you.*
niy' ohempi = I did not strike *you.*
niye pa heni = I will strike *him.*
pana pini = *he* will say.
pa helo = strike *him.*

N.B.—*Vile* (really a post-position implying approach, e.g. *ivile gowghekevelo* = don't come (near me)) is used with the indirect object of verbs of speaking, e.g. tell him = *pavile pilo.*

A dual form of the personal pronoun is also found, at any rate among the Northern Semas :—

We two = *ikuzho.*
You two = *okuzho.*
They two = *pamho.*

For numbers of more than two the first person singular is used with the numeral :—

e.g. We three—*niye küthu.*

The Pronominal Adjectives.

My = *i.*	Our = *niukomi.* [2]
Thy = *o-*	Your = *nonkomi.* [2]
His = *pa-*	Their = *panonkomi.* [2]

e.g. *Amishi* = a cow.
i mishi = my cow.
niukom'mishi = our cow.
atsü = a dog.
otsü = thy dog.
nonkomi'tsü = your dog.
'pa'tsü = his dog.

[1] The agentive *Ina* is probably the more correct. The form *niye* is really a sort of locative, an uninflected noun being avoided and the uninflected pronoun *ni-* only used when there is a following noun which is usually inflected.

[2] In form this is a collective noun.

Demonstrative Pronoun.

This = *hipau, tipa, ti, i.*
That = *hupau, tipa, ti.*
This, that much = *tiliki.*

Plural.

These = [*hipako*], *hipanoṅ.*
Those = [*hupako*], *hupanoṅ.*

The demonstrative pronoun follows the noun it qualifies ; thus " those men " = *timi hupako.*

The Interrogative Pronoun.

Who ?—*kū, ku'u kiu, kiuwi, kuhu ?*
What ?—*kiu, kihwi ?*
How much ?
How many ? } = *kije, kijehi ?*

The Indefinite Pronoun.

Some = *kiukiu*, used of both person and things.
A few = *kütila, kitila.*
Someone = *hammi.*
Something = *kūnhye, kūkūnhye.*
Anyone = *kammi.*
Anything = *kiwü, kiwümo, kuwumo.*
Anyone
Anything } at all = *kiu-kiu mo.*
Nothing
No one } at all = *kumo kumoi, kumo kaha.*

The Relative Pronoun.

The relative pronoun " who " is translated by " *Kiu,*" which is : (1) placed in the relatival clause while the verb in the same clause is put into the participial form ;

e.g. *The man who came* has gone.
Kiu gwogheno gwovekeana.

(2) Suffixed to the verb[1] which belongs to it, the verb put into a short form of the tense which it would naturally take ;

e.g. *Gwovekiu* = The man who has gone (*gwove*).
Boroshaha gwoghinkiu = Deputy Commissioner who is coming here (*gwoghinchin*).

The Reflexive Pronoun.

"Self" is expressed by the word *aliki*, but this is only used in the singular, and contains also the sense of *alone*. Like "self" in English, it is usually linked to the pronominal adjectives, but precedes the verb ;

e.g. *I'liki* = myself.
Oliki = thyself.
Paliki = himself.
Niye iliki gwoghi = I came myself (*or* I came alone).

Own is expressed by repeating the pronominal adjective after the reflexive pronoun ;

e.g. *Iliki i'u* = my own property.
Oliki o'u = your own property.
Paliki paki = his own house.

"One another" = "*Pamaliki*" ("Both themselves") and is followed again by "*Pamakepi*" ("the aforesaid two") ;

e.g. *Hupako pamaliki pamakepi tikileve* = Those two killed each other.

NEGATION.

The negative particle is—

mo = no (as opposed to *ih*, *iye* = yes) ;

e.g. "Do you understand ?" "No" = "*Na itian' kya ?*" "*Mo.*"

[1] I am not sure that I am correct in this, and that the relative in this case is not formed by the particle *-ke*, to which the emphatic *-u* has been added, and that *gwovekiu* should not be written *gwove-ke-u*. *Cf.* p. 292 *sq.* —use of the particle *-ke*. The emphatic *u* (or *o*) is the same as that used to form a superlative.

The simple negative used with another word is

moi = not ;

e.g. " *Amishi hipau omishi mono ?* " " *Imishi moi.*"

" Is this cow your cow or not ? " " It is not my cow."

With verbs the negative varies with the form of the verb used.

There are three negative enclitics used with verbs :—

moi, mpi, mlai.

moi is the general negative and may refer to any time.

mpi refers definitely to past time only.

mlai implies inability as well as negation, and may refer to any action in either present or past time ;

e.g. *niye pi moi* = I did not say, I do not say, I will not say.

niye pi mpi = I did not say, I never said.

niye pi mlai = I cannot say, I could not say.

Inability is also expressed by the termination " = *lesai* "

e.g. *pa pilesai* = he can't say.

With verbs of perception the enclitic " *mlai* " has no more than a merely negative sense ;

e.g. " *Itumlai* "=" I do not see " (it could not mean " I am blind ").

N.B.—*Mpi* apparently <*mo pi* = " not say." *Mlai* probably <*-mo-le-sai ; -sai = sah* = bad.

Want of knowledge is expressed by " *mta* "[1] [< *mo ith a(ni)*] ; " *mta* " alone = " I do not know " ;

e.g. " *Khupu kilao gwoniani kya ?* " " *Mta.*"

" Where is Khupu going off to ? " " I do not know."

" *Mta* " is also used to express " I do not know how to," in which case it is attached as an enclitic to the root form of the verb ;

e.g. " *niy' otsa pi mta* "=" I do not know how to speak your language."

Prohibition is expressed by the use of the infix *-keve-* ;

e.g. *pilo* = speak, *pikevelo* = " don't speak."

Ke alone as a suffix with the root of the verb is used as an abbreviated prohibition ; *piké !* " don't speak."

The word " *Kahá* " is used in the sense of " there is not " or " I have not " or " there is none," or merely " is not " ;

[1] Or *mtai, mtao.*

e.g. "*O mti animoi?*" "*Kahá.*"
"Have you any salt?" "I have not."
(lit. "Your salt is there?")
"*Inato an'kya?*" "*Inato kahá.*"
"Is Inato here?" "He is not."
"*Opfulo musheho kije kya?*" "*Kahá.*"
"How many guns are there in your village?"
"There are none."
"*Otsa pikepfu an' kya?*" "*Kahá.*"
"Have you anything more to say?" "No."

A corresponding interrogative *ahai*, "is there?" is also occasionally used, and an obsolete form *ha* is sometimes found for *kaha* in songs.

THE VERB AND ITS USE.

The Sema verb is not inflected to accord with difference in number or person, and has no genuine passive voice.[1] Mood and tense, in so far as they are distinguished at all, are expressed by the addition to the root of suffixes, infixes, and occasionally affixes, for which the verb "to be" (*a*) and other auxiliary verbs (*shi* = do, *pi* = say, *wu* = go, *che* = proceed, *lu* = take) are used, as well as post-positions *-no* = from, *-ye* = in, at. In addition to these are certain particles used with verbs which probably originally fell under one of the heads described, but which are now not ordinarily used except to form part of a verb; e.g. *-ni*, *-ke*, *-ve*, *-lo*, *-puzü*.

The combinations of these auxiliaries and particles with the root are infinite, and by their arrangement and repetition all sorts of shades of meaning are conveyed. The

[1] The verbal adjective formed with *ke* (*vide infra*) is, of course, passive in sense, and an approach to a real passive is found in the use of the active verb with a subject understood, but even here the verb is really active and not passive, though it is used perhaps as a sort of middle. Thus we find

Eno Ayemiye atsa-yeyeshiye Ayemi shitsüke
and the Ayemi by chattering Ayemi became

where *shitsüke* (lit. = "make-gave") is equivalent to a passive, a subject for *shitsüke* being really required to complete the grammatical sense, unless, indeed, *Ayemiye* be taken as the subject, in which case a direct object is required for *shitsüke*.

negative is similarly used, though the form used varies to some extent with the tense of the verb, as has already been indicated when dealing with the negative.

Taking then, for example, the verbal root *pi* = "say," "tell," different parts of the verb may be formed as follows :—

Apart from the use of the root alone, which is sometimes used as an aorist tense without inflexion, the simplest parts, in which verbal participles only are used, are :—

The present or future with *-ni* ; e.g. *pini* = "says," "will say."

The imperative with *-lo* ; e.g. *pilo* = "say" [Lazemi use *pi-süh*].

The past with *-ke* ; e.g. *pike* = "said."

N.B.—This *ke* is occasionally reduplicated apparently for emphasis ; e.g. *akikeke* for *lakike* = "was single" < *laki* = one.

The particle *ve* is used with some irregularity. With certain auxiliaries such as the causative *-tsü-* (*tsü-* = "give") it is almost always used ; e.g. *pilo* = "say," *pivetsülo* = "cause to say," though *pitsülo* in such a case would probably be understood. Again with the past tense form in which the auxiliary *a* is used, *ve* is always inserted—*piv'a* (or *piv'ai*)[1] for *pive-a* = "has said," "did say." [Lazemi and some other Dayang Valley Semas say *pive-la*.] So also with the past tense form in *-keana* (*ke-an*(*i*)*-a*, the particle *ke* followed by the present tense and again by the root *a* = be, remain) *pivekeana* would more often be used in preference to *pikeana* for "has said," but not necessarily.

N.B—The form in *keana* is particularly used by the Semas east of the Tizu, but is not very common.

Again with the imperative, *-ve-* is almost always omitted, though *pivelo* for *pilo* might perhaps be occasionally heard, and in some verbs such a use of *-ve-* in the imperative would be normal. The termination *-ne* is added to the imperative to make a command less abrupt or to modify it to a request ; e.g. *pilo* = "say," *pilone* = "be good enough to say." In the prohibitive form of the verb, however, *-ve-* is always found when the full form is used. This form is made with

[1] This form has a stronger sense of completion than the form in *-ke*.

the prohibition *-ke-* (not to be confounded with the suffixed *ke* of the past tense), with *ve*, and with the imperative particle *lo* in that order. Thus *pilo* = "say," *pikevelo* = "do not say."

An abbreviated *piké* with a marked accent on the second syllable is, however, often used instead when speaking hurriedly.

There is another use of *ke* when it is an affix and appears to be distinct from the infixed or suffixed *ke* of the past tense. As an affix it is used to form an adjective from the verb; thus *kepi* = "said," "spoken," "that which is or has been said." *Atsa kepi inzhulo* = "listen to the word which has been (or is being) spoken." This use of *ke* has been dealt with separately below. Its use in the gerundive (*pi-ke-pfu* = "for saying," "to be said") and the corresponding negative (*pikepfu kahá* = "nothing to say") probably falls into the same class. The *pfu* of the gerundive is probably the root *pfu* = "carry."

The verbal termination *-puzü* is used to form a past participle; e.g. *pi-puzü* = "having said." A similar use of *-puzü* other than with verbs is to be found in *ipuzü* = "thereafter," but *-puzü* does not seem to be used as an ordinary post-position.

The post-position *-no* is used like *-puzü* to form a past participle; e.g. *pino* = "having said," but the degree of completion indicated is less than when *-puzü* is used. Sometimes *-no* is used redundantly suffixed to *-puzü*; e.g. *ti pi-puzüno* = "having said this."

The post-position *-ye* is used principally in conjunction with the auxiliary verb *a* (= "be") to form a conditional or with the future particle *-ni* to form a final tense. Thus *pi-a-ye* = "if say" [Lazemi *pi-a-zo*], *pi-ni-ye* = "for saying," "in order to say." In the case of both these post-positions in their use with the verb they do not bear quite the same shade of meaning as in their regular use as post-positions with nouns.

The composition of parts of the verb with auxiliaries is rather more complicated, as several are often collected together, and the result is really a compound verb rather

than a part of a verb ; but as some of these forms are much abbreviated by use, examples of the commoner ones are necessary, particularly as they are coming to be used almost as inflections of the verb. Thus the imperative of *pi*, =" say," is sometimes used practically tantamount to a permissive suffix, the *i* being elided and *p'lo* being prefixed to the infinitive of the verb ; e.g. *pa p'lo ngulo*, " let him stay," really being " tell him to stay," " say to him ' stay,' " though the direct object *pa* is used here, and not the form *pa-vilo*, which would be usual with the verb *pi*. So also *pa p'lo pa'tsa pilo* = " let him tell his story," of which the corresponding prohibitive would be *pa p'lo pa'tsa pi-kevelo* = " let him not tell his story."

With *ani*, the present of the verb " to be," an ordinary continuative present is made—*piani* (usually contracted to *p'ani*), " is saying." In addition to this, and to the general use of the root *a-* to form a continuative verb, the compounds of the root with the auxiliary roots are usually helped out with the verb " to be " as well. Thus the potential form of the verb, e.g. " can say," is composed of the roots of the verbs " to say " (*pi-*), " to take " (*lu-*), and " to be " (*a-*), giving *pilunani* (*pi-luni-ani*) = " can say." The Lazemi dialect uses a potential form like the Angamis in *-levi* > *pilevi*—lit. " good for saying " or " up to saying."

With the verb " to do " (*shi-*) a desiderative is formed ; e.g. *pini shiani* = " wishes to say " (lit. " is making ' will say ' "). So also a continuative perfect *pi-a-shin'*, " has said " (lit. " say-be-makes "). Compounds with the verb *che*, meaning " proceed," are very frequent and almost always express habituation ; e.g. *pi-che-ni* = " always says," *pi-che-ke* = " used to say."

There is, however, one combination, in which *che* follows the root of the verb *wu* = " go," where the combined roots express inception and the idea of habituation is not associated with *che*. Thus *pi'un'chen'* (for *pi-wuni-che-ni*) = " begins to say " or " is about to say "—lit. " say, will go, proceeds." In this combination the root may or may not be followed by the particle *ve*.

A particle used with verbs to give a dubitative sense

is *kye* = " perhaps." In the past it seems to be usually associated with the particle *ve*, e.g. *pi-ve-kye-ni* = " perhaps has said," in the present with the verb " to be," e.g. *pi-an'-kye-ni*, " perhaps says," and in the future with the inceptive combination given above—*pi'un'chen'kyeni* = " will possibly say."

The variations of the negative with the different tenses of the verb have been already mentioned. The position varies as well as the form, as the negative particle is sometimes used as an infix, sometimes as a suffix. The simple negative *mo* is usually infixed, the form *moi* is used as a suffix, as also are the forms *-lesai*, *-mlai*, *-mpi*.

Thus formed with *mo*, we have a negative of the dubitative *pi-mo-kyeni* = " perhaps does not," " will not," or " did not say." So too we have a negative conditional *pi-m'aye* = " if not say " (for *pi-mo-a-ye*) and *pi-mo-no* the negative of the past participle *pino* and *pipuzü*. Only when suffixed to the root form aorist (*pi-mo* < *pi*) is *mo* used otherwise than as an infix to make a negative verb.

Moi, on the other hand, is always a suffix except in the past time negative formed with *moi* and *ve*; e.g. *pi-moi-ve* = " did not say," " has not said." Otherwise it is always a suffix and as such is perhaps the commonest form used for giving the verb a negative sense; e.g. *pi-moi*, the negative of present or future (or sometimes of the past),= " does not say," " will not say," sometimes even " did not say." [The Lazemi group uses *pi-lho* = " will not say," an Angami form.] So too in compounds *pin'shimoi* = " does not wish to say," *pi'uchemoi* = " does not begin to say," for *pi-wu-che-moi*, negative of *pi'un'chen'* (*pi-wu-ni-che-ni*). So too a negative habitual *pi-che-moi* = " never says " or " does not always say," corresponding to *pi-che-ni*.

The negative suffix *mpi* is used with the root only and in reference to past time always; e.g. *pi-mpi* = " did not say," " has not said." The potential negatives, *-lesai* and *mlai*, are also suffixed to the root *pi-lesai pi-mlai* = " cannot say," the latter form probably expressing the more absolute inability and being no doubt originally a contraction of *pi-mo-lesai* = " not even bad to say," *i.e.* " not able to say

at all,"[1] *pi-le-sai*, "cannot say," "bad for saying" being the negative of *pi-le-vi* (*vide supra*), "good for saying," "able to say"; *sai* probably < the same root as *sah* in *alho-ke-sah*, *akesah* = "bad." The prohibitive with *-keve-* and the negative of the gerund have been already mentioned.

Instances of the use of the verb in all its forms may be found in the Sema stories in this volume, but one or two are appended here as examples :—

Continuative and Causative Verbs.

CONTINUATIVE VERBS are formed by the addition of *-a-* (= "remain," "be") to the root form of the simple verb, which is then conjugated as usual ;

e.g. *Pi* = "speak" > *pi-a* = "continue speaking," *pialo* = "go on saying," *pia-cheni* = "keeps on saying."

Other compound verbs are formed by simply joining two roots and adding the necessary suffixes, etc., to the second ;

e.g. *pi-inzhulo* = "ask and say," < *pi* = say, *inzhu-* = ask.

zhu-pahaiveke = "looked-but-could-not-find," <*zhu* = look, *paha*, *pahai*, = lose.

CAUSATIVE VERBS are formed by adding the particle *-ve* to the simple root, and compounding with the verb *tsü* = "give," thus :—

Lha = "flay," *Niye olhani* = "I will flay you."

Niye olhavetsüni = "I will have you flayed."

Shi = "do" > *Shilo* = "do," *Shivetsülo* = "cause to do," "make do." *Piti* = "burn" > *Pitike* = "burnt" (intransitive), *Pitivetsüke* = "burnt" (transitive). *Aki pitike* = "the house burnt," *aki pitivetsüke* = "he burnt the house."

The particle *ve* is sometimes omitted. The causative form of a verb is sometimes used as nothing more than a merely emphatic form of the simple verb.

INTERJECTIONS.

Assent ... ... *ih, ih ih, iyeh, oh, uh.*
Approval ... *hau ! hau !*

[1] Or perhaps the *mo* in *pimlai* is merely a redundant negative put in for emphasis.

Disapproval ... *a, ya*
Disgust ... } *aich.*
Anger ... ... }
Dissent ... ... *mo.*
Satisfaction ... *tah* ("Enough!" "That'll do.")
tiv'ai (= "is dead").

INTERROGATIVES.

Questions may be asked by—

(*a*) The addition of an interrogative particle or enclitic which (i) merely asks a question, or (ii) suggests the possibility of an answer in the negative.

(i) Particles implying mere interrogation are—
kya, la, aie, nŏ, 'o. But "*kya*" is the one in ordinary use and cannot be misunderstood.

Nuan' kya ?
Nuani kya ?
Nuani aie ? } = "Are (you) laughing ?"
Nuani nŏ ?
Nuani 'o ?

La is used particularly in asking for confirmation or repetition :—

"Was it Inato you called ?" *No Inato ku la ?*

(ii) Particles implying a possible negation are :
moi, mono, shina, kesha, the first two being in common use ;

e.g. *Nuani moi ?*
Nuani mono ? } = "Are you laughing or not ?"
Nuani shina ?
Nuani kesha ? = "Are you laughing ?" (expressing surprise and the answer "No").

(*b*) The omission of the final *i* of the verb ;
e.g. *Nuan' ?* = "Are you laughing ?"

Alternative questions may be asked—

(i) By using the enclitics...*kyo* .... *kya ?* or merely suffixing the enclitic...*'o* to the first alternative ;
e.g. *Enakha mishi kyo, ketami mishi ghi kya ?* = "Are

they Enakha's cattle, or are they the cattle of others as well ? "

Na kinimi 'o kumulhomi ? Na kekámi kyo, kahámi kya ? = " Are you a rich man or poor ? " " Are you a chief or a nobody ? "

(ii) By repeating the verb and following it by the negative enclitic *mono, moi*, or in the case of the past tense " *mpi'a* " ;

e.g. *Nuani, nuani mono ?* = " Are you laughing or are you not ? "

Nu, numpi'a ? = " Did you laugh or not ? "

POST-POSITIONS.

Post-positions correspond to prepositions in English, and take the place of case endings, of which there are none. They are all enclitic, following the word governed :—

Into, to	*'lo, 'u.*
In	*'lo, 'no.*
On	*'so, 'shōu.*
From	*'lo.*
Along with	*'sa.*
With, by (instrumental)... ...	*'pfe, 'no.*
By (agentive)	*'no, nă.*[1]
Before	*'zu.*
Between	*'mtala.*
Behind	*'thĭū.*
Above	*'shou, 'so.*
Across	*'ghngugu.*
Among	*'dŏlō.*
Below	*'kho, 'chiliu.*
After	*'thiu.*
Near	*'vile.*
Round	*'ho.*
Through	*'mtala.*
Towards	*'vile, 'vilo.*
Because of, for	*'ghenguno, 'ghe'uno.*

In presence of ... ... *'zu.*
In, at, to, by, than ... ... *'ye.*[1]

e.g. *Pana iki-lo wuv'ai* = "He went to my house."
O-pfulo avi kaha = "There are no mithan in your village."
Azhtaso ikâlo = "Sit on (your) dao."
Pa'pfulo pov'ai = "He ran away from his village."
Pasa izuwuni = "I will go out with him."
Asüpfe helo = "Beat (him) with a stick!"
Kungumino i-tsüve = "A spirit gave (it) me."
I-zu chelo = "Go in front of me."
Zhuke 'ghenguno, ilumo = "Because you looked, I am angry."
Tighenguno (*tighe'uno*) = "Because of that."
Apazaye pike = "(He) spoke to his parents" (or "(his) parents said").
Thanawuye = "At dawn."
Niye züake = "I slept on."

[1] N.B.—*-no*, *-ye* are attached to the nominative of the agent, no real passive mood existing. The sense of agency implied by *-no* is much stronger than that suggested by *-ye*, which really indicates nothing more than the location of the action.

ADVERBS.

Adverbs of Manner.

How ... ... *kishene.*
Thus ... ... *hipapi, nahi, ishi.*
In that way ... ... *hupapi.*
Slowly ... ... *asheshina.*
Quickly ... ... *mtazü.*
Silently ... ... *inakho'i.*
Slightly ... ... *kitili.*
Equally... ... ... *akemeh.*
Accidentally ... ... *mtano* ("*mta*" participial form).
Haply ... ... *mtapi.*
Alone ... ... *kiliki.*
Gratis ... ... *kumsa.*
Why ... ... *kushia* (<*ku shi a*).

Very, truly, quite ...	*alloku* (e.g., *Akumla ani* = "I am busy," *akumla alloku ani* = "I am very busy," *alloku keguzumi* = "quite mad").
Unawares	*mtano.*

Adverbs of Time.

The other day	*kaghenyu* (usually about 10 to 12 days ago).
The day before the day before yesterday ...	*shibidhini.*
The day before yesterday	*ishik'thūni.*
Yesterday	*iëghi, eghena.*
To-day	*ishi.*
To-morrow	*thogho.*
The day after to-morrow	*āginyu.*
The day after the day after to-morrow ...	*kwüniu.*
Last month	*ikulo khü.*[1]
This month	*kepakhü.*[1]
Next month	*akhüthe.*
Last year	*kanikhu'mphelo.*[2]
This year	*kashi'mphelo.*[2]
Next year	*thoku'mphelo.*[2]
Last night	*izhi, izhi pothó.*
To-night	*tohuh* (used when speaking during daytime). *itizhi* (used when speaking after sunset).
To-morrow night ...	*tozhiu.*
Formerly	*kāghe.*
Nowadays	*ishito-gholo, etadōlo* (*itahe-dŏlo*).
Now	*itehe.*
When	*koghono.*
Then	*tileno, pathiu* (*i.e.*, after that).
At once	*mtazü.*

[1] Or *khi.* [2] '*Mphelo* is usually omitted in ordinary conversation.

One day	*aghla laki, gwola laki.*
Sometimes	*khanhia-khanhia, kanhiu, kanya aghlo.*
Daily, always	*alhokuthu, gwolatsütsü, aghla-tsütsü.*
Never	*kilemo..moi.*
Soon	*kitla-dolo.*
By and by	*itōuno.*
Henceforward	*hepathiu.*
Before	*azuno.*
Afterwards	*athiuno.*
Hereafter	*hithouno.*
Until	*oghloki.*
By day	*puchou.*
At midday	*telhogholo.*
In the morning ...	*inakhe.*
In the afternoon ...	*avelao.*
In the evening ...	*kezhiliu.*
At night	*pothó.*
Again	*etaghe.*

Adverbs of Place.

Somewhere	*kilela.*
Elsewhere	*kutao.*
Anywhere	*kilaumo.*
Everywhere	*kumtsülo.*
On this side, here ...	*hilau.*
On that side, there ...	*hulau.*
Hence	*hilehina.*
Thence	*hulauŏna.*
Near	*avela, avile.*
Afar	*ghachewa.*
At a distance	*kushūwa.*
Above	*ahu, ashou.*
Below	*achilu achiliu, akho, apeo.*
Around	*aho.*
Ahead	*nzou.*
Forwards	*azu.*
Backwards	*athiu.*

In the presence (of) ...	*azu, selokuno.*
Within	*seloku.*
Without	*kalau.*
Outside	*kalatseu, kalacheo.*
Before	*azuno.*
After	*athiuno.*
Underneath	*akhwou, akho.*
Between	*amtala.*
Together	*kumtsa.*

CONJUNCTIONS.

Also	*ghi.*
Although	*-mu* (enclitic on the verb).
Except	*peveno, iveno.*
Because	*ghengu.*
But	*kishikeno.*
And	*eno, ino, -ngwo, -ngo.*
Perhaps	*kye, kyeni* (both at end of sentence).
Then	*tishino, tilehi.*
Therefore	*tighenguno, tighe'uno.*
Too	*ghi.*

And linking two nouns is expressed by the suffix *-ngwo* or *-ngo* suffixed to the anterior noun of the two ; e.g., *timi-ngwo teghami*—" the man and the spirit."

Eno Amiche-ngo Hocheli-no, kimiyeke-ghenguno, Arkha pa 'ki pitivetsümoke.

" And Amiche and Hocheli, because they pitied (him), did not burn Arkha's house."

Arkha no panoṅ hapovetsüke-mu, ami sutsümokeke = " Although Arkha had driven them out, (they) did not set fire (to it)."

Use of the particle Ke *in the formation of nouns and adjectives from verbs.*

A. Nouns are formed from verbs by using the particle *Ke.*

(1) Nouns of the agent, the doer of an action, are formed by the addition to the verbal root of *ke* and *mi* (= man). These two are added in two ways :—

(*a*) *Ke* precedes the root and *mi* follows it ;

e.g. *Puka-lo* = steal > *ke-puka-mi* = a thief.

(*Akha*) *musse-lo* = fish > (*akha*) *ke-musse-mi* = a fisherman.

(*b*) *-kemi*, the two particles being joined, follows the root form of the verb. This is generally done with compounds ;

e.g. *Ātsali shilo* = murder > *ātsalishikemi* = a murderer.

Kineshu chelo = oppose > *kineshukemi* = an opponent.

Atsaokebachulo = loot > *atsaokebachukemi* = looter.

(2) Nouns of the instrument with which the action is done or of the results caused by the action, are formed by the addition of " *ke* " as a prefix, with varying nouns added to the root as a suffix instead of the *mi* used for the nouns of agent ;

e.g. *Puka-lo* = steal > *ke-puka-nhyemoga* = stolen property (*anhyemoga* = property).

(*Akha*) *musse-lo* = fish > (*akha*) *ke-musse-i* = a fish hook (*-i* < *ayi* = iron).

(3) Nouns of the results of the action are also occasionally formed by the addition of " *ke* " to the root as a suffix ;

e.g. *Atsaokebachulo* = loot (vb.) > *atsaokebachuke* = loot (*i.e.*, the plunder obtained by looting).

(4) The addition of " *ke* " to the root as suffix, although it is possibly in reality merely the sign of the past tense, often gives it the force almost of an abstract noun ;

e.g. *Puka-lo* = steal > *pukake* = theft.

Kelamu-lo = starve > *kelamuke* = starvation.

B. Adjectives are also formed by the addition of *Ke-* or *-Kehŭ*.

(1) A participial adjective is formed by the prefixing of *Ke-* to the root of the verb ; e.g., *pi* > *kepi* = spoken, *ti* > *keti* = dead. In the case of a transitive verb this participle is a passive participle ; *keshi*, for instance, meaning " *done*," not " *having done*."

(2) An adjective may in some cases be formed by the suffixing of *-ke* ;

e.g. *chu* eat, (*ake*)*vi* good > *chuvike* = palatable.

(3) An adjective, which is really equivalent to a relative sentence, is formed by the addition of *-kehu* to the root of the verb ;

e.g. *pi* > *pikehu* = " which has been " (or " is to be ") "spoken," thus *akumla shikehu shialo* = " go on doing the work which you { are / were } doing " (or " which you have to do ").

N.B.—The use of *ke* is very idiomatic, and as *ke* has a prohibitive and sometimes a privative sense, it may, if used wrongly, convey precisely the opposite intention to that desired. It is also a part of the verb " to be," and, suffixed to an adjective, converts it to a verb. Thus *siti-ke* = "it is cold," "*shonumi ke*" = " (he) is a miser."

SYNTAX.

Owing to the absence of inflexions, the order of the sentence is important in Sema. The rules are very simple.

The subject comes first, followed by its adjuncts, then the predicate, the verb standing last.

The object precedes the verb, the direct object preceding the indirect object where both are found together.

An adjective or demonstrative pronoun qualifying a noun follows it.

An adjective forming part of the predicate precedes the verb.

Possessive pronouns precede the nouns which they qualify.

Adverbs precede the noun or verb qualified.

Interrogative particles come at the end of the sentence, even in indirect speech.

In compound sentences the dependent clauses precede the principal clause.

In conditional sentences the protasis precedes the apodosis.

Examples :—

I struck him	... *Ina pa hev'ai*	... (I him struck).
He struck me	... *Pana i-hev'ai*	... (He me struck).

I spoke my words to the Sahib ...	*Niye i-tsa Shahavile piv'ai ... ...* (I my-words Sahib-to spoke).
I gave you two black cows ...	*Niye amishi tsoboi kini otsüvekeani* (I cows black two you-gave).
That crow is dancing finely ...	*Agha hulau allokei ilheani ... ...* (Crow that well is dancing).
I have much work to-day ...	*I s h i a k u m l a kuthom'ani ...* (to-day work much is).
What are you writing ? ...	*Na kiu kaku-he*[1] *kya ? ... ...* (You what write, eh ?)
I never told you that I would come.	*Niye egheni pi ovile pimpi.* (I will come-say you-to said not).

If he stay here, I shall go up to Kohima. { *Pa hilau nguaye, niye Kabu* (or *Kozumi pfu*) *ekwoni.* (He here stay-if, I Kohima will go up).

ORATIO OBLIQUA.

A sentence is put into indirect speech by the use of the verb *Pi*, "to say." This is used in three forms: the present, *Pani* (*Pi-ani*), "he says," "it is said," "they say"; the past, *Pike*, "he said," "it was said," etc., and the aorist, *Pi* = "he says," "he said," etc. Of these three, *Pani* is the form most in use, though *Pi* is also very common, particularly among the more northern villages.

(1) *Pani* is used after the root form of the dependent verb, followed by the particle *le*, or after the root form alone, e.g.:—

Direct form.	Indirect form.
Speak = *pilo*	He tells you to speak. *Nono pile pani.*
What are you saying ? *Kiu'tsa pi an'kya ?*	He asks what you are saying. *Kiu'tsa pile pan'kya.*
He comes for a law suit. *Atsa kekeghaniye che'ni*	He says that he is come for a law suit. *Atsa kekeghaniye che pani.*

[1] Lit. "paper (*kaku*) strike (*he*)."

(2) *Pike* is used when the words are reported in their original form, the main clause standing first and the reported speech being often followed by a second and redundant *pike*; e.g. :—

Khupu reached Kohima yesterday.	Khupu said that he reached Kohima yesterday.
Khupu eghena Kabumi pfu tohvai.	*Khupuno pike, eghena Kabumi pfu tohvai pike.*

(3) *Pi* is used (like *pike*) after the words of the speech reported in the direct form, redundantly at the end of the dependent clause, but the dependent clause comes first, followed by the main clause containing the verb of saying; e.g. :—

I will come ...	... I never told you that I would come.
Niye egheni ...	... *Niye egheni pi, ovile pimpi.*

An oblique imperative is often used, and is formed by adding *pi* to the root plus *le*, e.g. :—

"Come" = *Eghelo*, "You are told to come" = *Eghelepi*.

This form, however, is often used as a mere substitute for the direct imperative.

SLANG.

The writer has only actually met with one word (there are probably others) which is actually substituted by Semas in speaking as slang for the real word. This is *achokha*, an obscene expression for the fish called *keghenipu*.[1] There is, however, a practice which seems to be known in most Sema villages of inverting or altering the order of words in a sentence, or of syllables in a word, so as to make the language meaningless gibberish to anyone not knowing the slang. There does not seem to be any fixed system on which this is done, but the general idea seems to be, as has been said, to reverse the order of words, syllables, or both. There does not seem to be any very real advantage gained by the use of this slang beyond that of being able to irritate one's

[1] Which is held to resemble the male organ of generation.

neighbours who do not know it by speaking it in their presence, and, speaking generally, it seems to be more of a game than anything else, and is invented and used much as secret alphabets and ciphers are by small boys at school, who send notes to one another in them simply for the sake of using the code. At the same time, it is said that the Sema slang is used with some effect in trade, as it is possible for one man to warn another that the price asked by a third for some article is too high, which he would not like to do, and would not do, if he had to speak in plain Sema which the seller could understand. This slang is also said to be useful in intrigues, and undoubtedly is used to make offensively personal remarks and to abuse strangers who do not understand it.

The use of this slang is sometimes confined to a very small proportion of each village, sometimes it is used by the majority of the younger population, who have more than one version in use, but in one Sema village, apparently the only one, Aichisagami, the whole village has acquired this slang, and to such an extent that it has almost become the ordinary language of the village and is normally used by the people of the village in speaking to one another, and is frequently used unthinkingly to people from other villages who cannot understand until the speakers correct themselves and use ordinary Sema. The result of this in Aichisagami has been the production of secondary slangs based on the first, which are spoken by a number of the villagers in the same way that what may be called primary slang is used in other villages. As the original slang was never formed by a complete inversion of words or phrases, the secondary slang is not a mere reversion to straightforward speech, though in short words it is necessary to omit, or to insert or alter sounds to avoid this.

As there are variations, however slight, of dialect from village to village, and as the possible combinations and permutations of words and sentences are infinite, and the amount of the inversion used in speaking slang dependent purely on the whim of the inventors, it is obvious that the slang used in one village is not likely to be understood by

the speakers of slang in another, though words and even phrases here and there might easily coincide.

As examples of slang by inversion, the following phrases from Aichisagami are given :—

English.	*Ordinary Sema.*	*Inverted form.*	*Re-inverted form.* (Used by part of the village, others using different re-inversions.)
(Proper name)	Ina*kh*u	I*kh*una.	
(Proper name)	Hozeke	Kehoze.	
One	laki	kila.	
Three	küthu	thüku.	
Sixteen	muku-ma-tsogho	tsogho-ma-muku.	
Twenty-one	muku-kaki	kakikumo.	
Forty-two	lhobidi-kini	bidikin'lho.	
Forty-eight	lhopongu pa-tache	ponguchetapalho.	
Sahib	shāhā	hoshe.	
Don't know	mta	tamo	tagām, tamoga.
Chillies	gwomishe	shegomi	mishego.
Accursed	ghapio	piogha	piaghao.
Thus	nahi	hinna	na'e.
Is	ani	nyia	athonani.
Is calling me	i kuani	iniaku.	
What shall (I) do ?	k'u shini a ?	shinia ku ?[1]	iniaku ?
There is no cooked rice.	ana kaha	akahana	akahathona [athokahana].
There is no liquor.	azhi kaha	akahazhi	anyiakahazhi.
Where are (you) going ?	kilao wuni ?	lakiwunio ?	laowuniki ?
What is your name ?	o-zhō kiu kya ?	ok'uzhōkya ?	ok'ukezhā ?
Why have you come ?	kiushi'chen'kya ?	shik'u'nche kya ?[2]	chenkushikya ?
What to do ?	kiu shikepfu ke ?	u 'unoshi ?	kyinopfuk'ushe ?
(I am) going about with you.	osa itsücheni	osa ichen'tsü	osa itetsechüni.
Killed a tiger yesterday.	eghena angshu vekev'a.	enaghe ashongu kevev'a.	ashuwuno ekeughevena.[3]
He is asking too high a price.	pa'me chile kuani.	pachilomeanyiku	kuanyilo amechi.

[1] *Shinia ku.*—A Seromi man using the inverted slang of that village, or one of the inverted slangs of that village, would say *shiaku ?*

[2] *Shik'u'nchekya.*—The Seromi inversion is *shik'uchenkya ?*

[3] *Ekenghevena* < *Eghena vekev'a* amalgamated.

English.	*Ordinary Sema.*	*Inverted form.*	*Re-inverted form.* (Used by part of the village, others using different re-inversions.)
Don't give so much.	hizhehi tsükevelo	zhehi kevelotsü	tsükehizhevelohi.
In Sagami village they always speak all words upside down.	Sagami pfulo atsa kumtsü bidelao picheni.	Agam'sa palopfu akumtsütsa delaonopi chen'pi.	Mtsagami sage atsakütsa piono dal-uono chen 'pi.

It remains to be added that Semas believe they had once the secret of writing, but that dogs ate the skin on which it was recorded.

Sema vocabularies will be found in the Appendices (VI).

PART VI

FOLK-LORE

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TALES.

THE stories which follow here were taken down by the writer principally from two Semas—Vikhepu, Chief of the Ayemi clan in Seromi, and Mithihe of Vekohomi, a man of the Yepothomi clan. The stories given by Mithihe may be recognised at once by beginning with a set formula which varies very little. Asked why he began in this way, he replied that that was how the old men had told them to him. Vikhepu, on the other hand, a chief and a man of superior intellect, considered the formula out of place and unnecessary, and his style is generally much less diffuse. The actual words of these two are recorded except in one particular point. As most of their tales were originally collected to form the basis of a "reader" intended to be used in elementary schools in Sema villages, it was necessary here and there to substitute finite verbs, as approved by the Sema relaters of the stories, for some of the participles, and to start new sentences from time to time for the sake of lucidity. As some of the stories were originally written the participles carried on interminably till the thread was lost, and the sense sometimes confused. As the original manuscript was destroyed and the opportunity for again recording the stories had passed, they are set down here in their revised forms with the finite verbs in place of the participles which are ordinarily strung out to the utter confusion of any listener not a Sema, and sometimes indeed to the ruination of the story-teller himself. In other respects nothing has been altered, as the participles

would come at the end of clauses where at present they are as finite verbs. Numbers XXI and XXII were recorded as they are from different sources.

In recording the stories here an approximately literal rendering is given in English followed by the original Sema translated word for word. The titles are in some cases fanciful, as the stories in the original have not any fixed and definite titles. Many Sema stories there are which, as one of Hakluyt's voyagers says of the "maner" of Persian "mariages," "for offending of honest consciences and chaste eares, I may not commit to writing." But the twenty or so given here will serve as a sample of Sema folk-lore.

I.

THE PLANTAIN AND THE HAIRBRUSH TREE.

Now of old time we Semas have a story. I will tell it. Do you listen.

The Plantain said to the Hairbrush Tree, "Do you grow (and bear fruit) from your stem, or do you do it from your branches?" This did he ask him. And the Hairbrush Tree made answer to the Plantain; "I bear fruit from the stem," said he. And the other supposed it to be true, and after bearing fruit from his stem died. But the Hairbrush Tree, because that he bore fruit from his branches, even yet survives, it is said.

Eno kaghelomi ni Simi atsa laki anike. Ino ti
Now men of old we Semas word one is. I this
pini, inzhulone![1]
will say, listen (please).

Auchobono amoghobovilo ti pike, "Noye
The Plantain to the Hairbrush-tree this said, "You
amuzülono wuchĕn'[2] kyo anikalono
from the stem continue to go (or) from the branch

[1] The addition of *-ne* to the imperative termination *-lo* makes the injunction rather more polite than it would be otherwise.

[2] *Wuchĕni* always accented on the second syllable.

wuchen' kya ?" ti pi-inzhuke. Amoghobono
continue to go eh" this say-asked. Hairbrush tree
auchobo pishike, "Niye amuzülono wucheni,"
Plantain say-made "I from the stem continue to go"
pike. Paye kucho keghashi; pa 'muzülono wu-epeghe-
said. He true supposed his stem from go-having-
puzüno tiuve, eno amoghoboye anikalono
come-forth died, but the hairbrush-tree from branch
wuchenike-ghenguno itahe ghi a pike.
continued to go because of now too remains said.

II.

THE SAMBHAR AND THE FISH-POISON VINE.

Of old we Semas have a story. I will tell it. Do you listen.

The Sāmbhăr and the Fish said they would make friends, and the Sambhar said to the Fish, "My friend, whenever men with dogs come hunting me, I shall come running down the stream. Do you splash up the water and obscure my tracks." Having said this he went his way. And the Fish said to the Sambhar, "My friend, men will strip the bark of the fish-poison vine[1] and bring it to kill me. You too break down that vine with your horns!" With these words he told the Sambhar to break it down. For this reason even nowadays the Sambhar keeps breaking down the fish-poison vine.

Kaghelomi ni Simi atsa laki anike. Ino ti pini.
Men of old we Semas word one is I this will say.

Inzhulone!
Listen (please).

Akhuh-ngo akha pama ashou shi pike. Akhuhno
Sambhar and Fish both friend make said Fish
akhavilo "I-shou, timino atsü sasü i-
to Sambhar, "My friend men dogs with me

[1] See Part II, under "Fishing."

hachekeloye, ino aghokilo polo-eghenike.
when keep hunting I in river bed running will come
Nono azü shopfe i-nyepa nhavetsülone."
You water splash up my tracks make obscure (please)."
Ti pipuzüno pano itsuwuve pike. Eno akhano
This having said he moved off said and fish
akhuhvilo "I-shou, timino aphitsübo 'kwola
to Sambhar "My friend men fish-poison creeper bark
khusa-süwu i-vekhichenike. No ghi aphi-
strip-bring-go me keep on killing You too fish-poison
tsübo o-kibono sochevetsü-lo" pipuzüno, akhuh
creeper your-horns with break down having said Sambhar
pulo sochevetsüpe pike. Tighenguno etadolo ghi
to break down told on account of this nowadays even
akhuhno aphitsübo sochechenike.
Sambhar fish-poison creeper keeps breaking down.

III.

THE SQUIRREL AND THE QUAIL.

Of old there is a story of us Semas. I will tell it. Do you listen.

The Quail and the Squirrel agreed to make friends. "My friend," said the one, "we two will have a look at the snares men set." The other agreed, and they went to have a look at the snares set by men. As the Quail went along in front, it was the Quail that got caught in the snares of men. The Squirrel with his teeth used to gnaw them through. The Quail said to the Squirrel, "My friend, my throat is aching.[1] You go in front now in your turn," said he. The Squirrel agreed and went in front. The Squirrel got caught in the snares of men. The Squirrel said to the Quail, "My friend, my throat hurts." But the Quail, as he had no teeth, did not gnaw through (the snare) at all.

[1] *I.e.*, as a result of putting his head into the nooses.

And so the Squirrel died. For this reason the Quail does not enter the jungle, but keeps to the open fields, at least so they say.

Kaghelomi ni Simi 'tsa laki anike. Ti pini. Inzhulone!

Atsung-ngo akili pama ashou shi-
The Quail and the Squirrel they two friends agreed-to-

pike. "I-shou, ikuzho timi 'liche ikani"
make. "My friend we-two men's snares will examine"

pike. Allo-pipuzüno pama timi 'liche ikawuke.
said having agreed they-two men's snares went-to-look-at

Atsungno atheghushi chekeloye timi 'lichelono
The Quail in-front as-he-went-along men's snares-in

atsung meveke. Akilino ahuno ghuthavetsü-
the Quail was caught. The Squirrel teeth-with kept-

cheke. Atsungno akilivilo "I-shou, niye
gnawing-through the Quail Squirrel-to "My friend I

i-ku'ohno süai. No ghi itaheye atheghushilo," pike.
my throat-in ache You too now go-in-front" said

Allo-pipuzüno akilino atheghushike. Timi 'lichelono
having-agreed the Squirrel went-in-front Men's snares-in

akili meveke. Akilino atsungvilo
the squirrel was caught The Squirrel the-quail-to

"I-shou, i-ku'oh süai," pike. Atsungno ahu
"My friend my throat hurts" said the Quail teeth

kahake-ghenguno kuno ghuthavetsümokeke.
were not-by-reason-of at all did not gnaw them through

Iveno akili tiuveke. Tighenguno atsungno
and so the Squirrel died This-because-of the Quail

aghala ilomoike; alughulo chewuve, pike-
jungle does not enter open-field keep-going they having

thono.
related.

IV.

THE LEOPARD-CAT[1] AND THE SQUIRREL.

Of old we Semas have a story. I will tell it. Listen.

The Leopard-cat and the Squirrel made friends. The Squirrel said to the Leopard-cat, "My friend, I will gnaw off and bring that bees' nest from the tree. I will climb the tree," said he, "and will call out from the top. Then you answer 'Holloa, friend!' and beat your breast."

When the Leopard-cat beat his breast accordingly the bees came out of their nest and stung him in the eyes. For this reason the Squirrel, through fear of the Leopard-cat, does not come out on to the path, as he squatted on a soap-vine[2] in the jungle in fear, they say.

Kaghelomi ni Simi atsa laki anike. Ti pini. Inzhulo!

Anyengu-ngo akili pama ashou shike.
The Leopard-cat and Squirrel they two friend made
Akilino anyenguvilo "I-shou, ino asülo akhibo
Squirrel leopard-cat to "my friend I tree-from bees' nest
ghutha-sügheni," pike, "Ino ikhu asü akelono eghan-
gnaw will bring" said "I climb tree from top will cry
ike; noye 'I-shou, huhwoi' pino o-melolo
out you, 'My friend, holloa' having said your-breast-on
kokhulone." Ti pipuzüno anyenguno pa 'melolo
beat (please)." This having said leopard-cat his breast-on
kokhukelaoye akhino pa 'bolono ipegheno
in beating the bees their nest out of having come out
pa 'nhyeti khuphovetsüke. Tighenguno akilino an-
his eyes stung. For this reason Squirrel Leopard-
yengu musano alaghulo ipeghemoi,
cat having feared on the path does not come out
musano aghasalo asakhelilo awuve pike.
being afraid in the jungle soap-vine on squatted they say.

[1] *Felis bengalensis.*

[2] *Asakheli* is a creeper which is bruised and used as soap for washing with. It yields a certain amount of thin lather.

V.

THE LEOPARD-CAT AND THE NIGHTJAR.

There is a story of olden times. Do you listen.

The Leopard-cat and the Nightjar[1] made friends. The Leopard-cat asked this of the Nightjar—"My friend, why do you keep crying out in the night?" The Nightjar answered to the Leopard-cat, "My friend, I do not know," and the Leopard-cat said to the Nightjar, "My friend, if (you hear) a rustling at the top of the tree, I am coming to have speech with you, be on your guard, please. But if a rustling comes along the ground it is the wind blowing, fear nothing." Having said this he came along the ground in the night. (The Nightjar) thought in his heart that (the Leopard-cat) was not coming, and not being aware of even a breath of wind above him feared nothing. Thus (the Leopard-cat) having got to the top of the tree above him devoured the Nightjar.

Kaghelomi 'tsa laki anike. Inzhulone!
Men-of old's word one is Listen, please.

Anyengu-ngo akaku[1] pama ashou shike.
The Leopard-cat and Nightjar they two friend made

Anyenguno akakuvilo "I-shou, kushiye puthou-
The Leopard-cat to the Nightjar "My friend, why night

no eghachenike?" ti pi-inzhuke. Akakuno
in do you keep crying out" this said asked the Nightjar

anyenguvilo "I-shou, niye mtake," pino,
the Leopard-cat-to "My friend, I do not know" having said

anyenguno akakuvilo "I-shou, asü akeone
the Leopard-cat the Nightjar-to "My friend, tree at the top

ghoghoshicheaye ino oputsaniye chenike, musa-
keep-rustling-if I to you to-have-speech am-coming be-

alone. Eno ayeghilono ghoghoshi-cheaye
afraid, please. And on-the-ground rustling come if

[1] *Akaku* is probably the Indian Nightjar, but has not been positively identified.

amulhuke, musakevelone." Ti pipuzüno
the wind blows do not be afraid, please." This having said
puthouno ayeghilo egheke. Pa'melolo ani
in the night on the ground came His mind-in was
chekemopaye pa'shou kumono amulhughasi
he not coming if him above not one breath of wind
kumsüzhuno musamo. Hishi akelono pa 'shou
perceiving was not afraid Then to the top him above
egheno akaku tsüchuveke.
having come Nightjar devoured.

VI.

THE OTTER AND THE LEOPARD-CAT.

Of old we Semas have a story. I will tell it. Listen, please.

The Leopard-cat and the Otter made friends. The Leopard-cat said to his friend the Otter, "My friend, let us get into man's house and steal a fowl." His friend the Otter agreed, unknowing. They two got into man's house and caught a fowl. Thereupon the fowl set up a squawk, whereon the man got up in haste. He snatched a brand and struck both the Leopard-cat and the Otter. The Leopard-cat ran out, but the Otter not knowing the way was left behind inside, and the man belaboured him with the firebrand. For this reason the Otter said to his friend the Leopard-cat, "My friend, let us go into the pool (in the river) and catch and eat fish. Do you take hold of my tail and hold on to it hard." Saying this he plunged in. Now the Otter was at home in the water. As nothing happened the Leopard-cat was ashamed to come out before his friend had caught anything. After this had gone on (for a while) he (the Otter) at last caught and brought out a little tiny fish. The Leopard-cat was curling back its lips in death. His friend, pretending that this was laughter (said), "My friend, why are you so delighted at having caught a minnow?" While he was saying this his friend expired.

Kaghelomi ni Simi atsa laki anike. Ino ti pini. Inzhulone !

Anyengu-ngo atsügho pama ashou shike. Anyeng-
Leopard-cat and Otter they two friend made Leopard-

uno pa'shou atsüghovilo "I-shou, ikuzho timi
cat his friend Otter-towards "My friend, we two man's

'kilo ilono awu pukani," pike. Pa 'shou
house-in having entered fowl will steal," said His friend

atsüghoye mtano allo-pike. Pamano timi 'kilo
Otter unknowing agreed They two man house-in

ilowuke ; awu laki keghāke. Tilehino awuno egha
went in fowl one caught Thereon fowl squawk

ithougheveke. Tilehino timino po-ithougheveke. Amisü
got up Thereon man run-got up firebrand

ikipe, anyengu-ngo atsügho pama hēke. Anyenguye
snatched leopard-cat and otter both hit Leopard-cat

po-iveno atsüghoye ala mtano seleku
having run-gone out otter way not knowing within

nguke. Tilehino timino amisü pfe atsügho kuthomo
remained Then man brand lift otter much

heveke. Tighenguno atsüghono pa'shou anyenguvilo
beat Therefore otter his friend Leopard-cat-to

"I-shou, ikuzhe aïzülo ilono akha kegha-
"My friend, we two pool-in having entered fish catch

chuni. No ghi i-shomhi phekeveno[1] i-shomhi
will eat. You too my tail not letting go my tail

sünhye-pfelo," pipuzüno pana iloke. Tilehino
pull-take" having said he went in Now

atsüghoye azülo kaäkeke. Kumo shimono
otter water-in was-a-dweller Nothing having not done

anyenguye pa' shou zukuzhoye, akha
Leopard-cat his friend being ashamed (before), fish

[1] *phekeveno*, a gerundival form derived from the prohibitive *phe-keve-lo*, "do not let go," compounded with the post-position *no*.

itumlai apiloye ipemoke. Hi shi-
could not get as long as did not come out. This having
apuzüno akhati kitla itulu-ketino kalao
kept doing fishlet little having got (at last) out
süpegheke. Anyenguno tiwuniye ahu
brought-emerged. Leopard-cat being about to die teeth
itsüpfeake. Pa 'shou nuani keghashi, "I-shou,
bared His friend is laughing pretend "My friend,
noye khamlati keghalukeno ku allo-kevishianike?"
you minnow having caught why are delighted?"
Ti pino-laoye pa'shouye tiuveke.
This while saying his friend died.

VII.

THE BATTLE OF BIRDS AND CREEPING THINGS.

We Semas of old have a story. I will tell it. Listen.

The Sand-lizard and the Tailor-bird [1] made friends. The Tailor-bird broke off a twig and turned his friend the Lizard stomach upwards on to his back. Thereon the Lizard spoke thus: "If this is what you do I will collect all that creep on the earth." Having said this he collected all that creep on the earth. And the Tailor-bird said "If you do this, I likewise will collect all the birds of the air." And having said so he collected all the birds of the air.

Then they made war, fought. And the earth-creepers brought the Python as leader and the birds of the air brought the Hornbill [2] and the Eagle [3] as leaders. The Eagle said to the Hornbill, "You are the biggest. Go down and carry off the Python," says he. The Hornbill, saying "The Python is bigger than I am," would not go. So then he said to the *Awutsa*,[4] "You go and bring up the King-cobra."

[1] *Liliti—Orthotomus sutorius*—the Indian Tailor-bird.
[2] *Aghacho—Dichoceros bicornis*—the Great Hornbill.
[3] *Alokhu—Lophotriorchis kieneri*—the Rufous-bellied Hawk-Eagle.
[4] *Aceros nepalensis*—the Rufous-necked Hornbill.

But the *Awutsa* said, "The King-cobra is bigger than I. I go not." Then the Eagle said, "I will go down," and did so. So the King-cobra and the Eagle fought together. And when the Eagle got the worst of it the birds of the air cried aloud, but when the Eagle got the upper hand they chuckled. And when the Cobra was being worsted the reptiles cried out, but when the Cobra got the upper hand the reptiles chuckled. At the last the Eagle flew back with the King-cobra and the birds of the air chanted a pæan. Then they divided the flesh. The Crow [1] rubbed himself in the gall, and they say that this is why he is black. And the Minivet[2] rubbed himself in the blood, and this is why the Minivet is red, they say. And the Ruby-throat[3] was late and did not arrive until after the other fellows had eaten up the meat. There was no meat (for him). Although he had been given none, only a little blood remained. It was smeared on his chin, and for this reason, they say, he has a red chin.

Kaghelomi ni Simi atsa laki anike. Ino ti pini. Inzhulone.

Aniza-ngo liliti pama ashou shike.
Sand-lizard and Tailor-bird they two friend made

Lilitino asükugha nichephe pa'shou aniza
Tailor-bird twig broke off his friend Sand-lizard

kive vekide-vetsüke.[4] Tilehino anizano ti
stomach turned upside down. Then Sand-lizard this

pike "Nono ti shiamu, ino ayeghilo-kechepu
said "You this do-although I the earth-on creepers

kumtsü sa-eghenike," pipuzüno ayeghilokechepu
all will collect" having said earth-creepers

kumtsü sa'gheke. Eno lilitino "Ti shiaye, niye
all collected And Tailor-bird "This if do I

[1] *Agha—Corvus macrorhyncus*—the Jungle Crow.
[2] *Chilichepu—Pericrocotus speciosus*—the Indian Scarlet Minivet.
[3] *Izhyu.* Probably *Calliope tsebaiewi*—the Thibet Ruby-throat.
[4] Perhaps it means that the lizard was disembowelled, but I think that it merely means he was rolled over on to his back.

ghi kungu-'ghao kumtsü sagheni" pipuzüno, pa ghi
too heaven-birds all will collect" having said he too
kungu-'ghao kumtsü sagheke.
heaven-birds all collected.

Tilehino panon aghüshike, kulouke.[1] Eno ayeghilemino
Then they made war fought and earth-remainers
aïthu akizheo shi-egheke. Eno kungu-'ghaoye aghacho-
Python biggest make-came and heaven-birds Hornbill
ngo alokhu pama akizheo shi-egheke. Alokhuno
and Eagle they two biggest make-came Eagle
aghachovilo ti pike. "No akizheoke; ikeno
Hornbill to this said "You are biggest having gone down
aïthu pfeghelo," pike. Aghachono "Ni-ye aïthuno pa
Python carry off," said Hornbill "I than Python he
zheke" ti pipuzüno wumoive. Tamaye awutsa-
is big" this having said would not go So then to the
vilo "Nono ikeno apeghiala pfeëghelo,"
awutsa "You having gone down King-cobra bring up"
pike. Awutsano, "Ni-ye apeghialano pa zhekeke.
said *Awutsa* "I than King-cobra he is big (indeed)
Wumoi," pike. Tilehino alokhuno "Ino ikeni"
I go not" said Then Eagle "I will go down"
pipuzüno, pano ikeke. Apeghiala-ngo alokhu
having said he went down King-cobra and Eagle
pama kicheghike. Alokhuno akhwo shi-akeloye
they two fought Eagle underneath do-becoming
kungu-'ghaono kaäpike. Alokhu-no asho shi-akeloye
heaven-birds cried out Eagle above do-becoming
kungu-'ghaono nuapike. Eno apeghialano akhwo
heaven-birds laugh-remain-said and King-cobra underneath
shiye ayeghilemino kaäpike. Eno apeghialano asho
doing earth-remainers cried out and King-cobra above

[1] The root *kulou-* = to fight without using deadly weapons, *i.e.* with shields and stones or clubs, whereas *aghüshi-* would imply the use of spears and daos.

shi-akeloye ayeghilemino nuapike. Kuthouye
do-becoming earth-remainers laugh-remain-said Eventually
alokhuno apeghiala pfe-egheve, kungu-'ghaono aghüle
Eagle King-cobra carry-came heaven-birds pæan
kuake. Tilehino panoṅno ashi phuke. Aghano atithi
chanted Then they flesh divided Crow gall
bolo ihike. Tighenguno aghano tsübui, pike.
pool-in wallowed This because of Crow black said
Eno chilichepu azhi bolo ihike. Tighenguno
And Minivet blood pool-in wallowed On account of this
chilichepu huchuhi, pike. Eno izhyuno eghemo-
Minivet red said And Ruby-throat having been
apuzüno timino ashi chukhavoke'thiuno egheke. Ashi
not come men meat had eaten up after came Meat
kahake. Pa tsü-mono azhi kitla agheke. Pa
was not him not having given blood little remained his
'mukhu lo nyetsüke. Tighenguno pa 'mukhu huchuhi
chin on smeared This-because-of his chin red
pike.
said.

VIII.

THE DISPERSION OF CRABS.

Once upon a time a Tigress had a cub which she had given birth to in the jungle. A Partridge was scratching up the earth in the bed of a stream when a Crab bit the Partridge's leg. The Partridge flew up and colliding with a plantain tree (disturbed) a Bat (which) brushed against the back of a Sambhar's ear (as it flitted away). The Sambhar, as it dashed off, stepped on the tiger cub and killed it. The Tigress came. "Sambhar, for what did you step on and kill my baby?" "It was not me. It was the Bat; see him about it" (said the Sambhar). But the Bat said, "It was not me; it was the Partridge. See him about it," says he, and the Partridge said, "It was not me; it was the Crab. See him about it." "Crab," said

the Tigress, "for what did you step on and kill my baby, eh?" The Crab said nothing, but, grunting "'m 'm," slipped in under a stone. Then the tigress had to ask the Huluk.[1] "You pull the Crab out of that," said she. But the Huluk pitied him and said, "He is not there." Just then the Crab bit the Huluk's finger, and on that he pulled him out and threw him down on a great big boulder so that he broke, and bits of Crab drifted down into all streams. That is why, they say, crabs frequent every stream.

Kaghe angshuno aghalo ati laki piti-
Formerly Tiger jungle-in offspring one give-birth-to-

sasüake. Agilino aghokitilo ayeghi peä-
was accompanying Partridge stream-bed-in earth while

kelono, achuwono agili 'pukhulo mikitsüke.
was scratching up Crab Partridge leg-on bit

Agilino yeo, auchobo vekinikelono, ashukhano
Partridge flew plantain-tree having struck against bat

yeo akhuh 'kinibalo vetsüke. Akhuhno poniaye
flew Sambhar ear-back-on struck Sambhar in running

angshu-ti nekhevetsüke. Angshuno eghepuzü
tiger-cub trampled-on-and-killed Tiger having come

"Akhuh, noye ku-ughenguno i-nga nekhevet-
"Sambhar you for what reason my baby trampled on

süke?" "Ino kumoi. Ashukhano ke; pavilo
and killed" "(by) me was not (by)Bat was to him

pilo," pike. Ashukhano pike, "Ino kumoi; agili-
speak" said Bat said "(by) me was not (by)

no ke; pavilo pilo," pike. Agilino "Ino
Partridge was to him speak" said Partridge "(by) me

kumoi; achuwono ke; pavilo pilo," pike. "Achuwo,
was not (by) Crab was to him speak" said "Crab

noye ku-ughenguno i-nga nekhevetsüke-a?"
you for what reason my-baby trampled-on-and-killed, eh?"

[1] *Akuhu* = "*Hylobates huluk*," the black gibbon.

ishi pike. Achuwono ku-umo pimono "ahia-
thus said Crab nothing having not said "'um
ahia"[1] ishi pipuzü atukholo iloveke. Tighenguno
'um" thus having said stone-under went in Because of this
angshuno akuhuvilo pike "Noye achuwo sünhye-
Tiger to 'Huluk' said "You Crab pull-
phetsülo," pike. Akuhuno, pa kimiyeye, "Kahai"
extract" said Huluk him in pity (for) "Is not"
i pike. Kutou ghi akuhu achuwono aoulotilo mikitsüke-
this said after just Huluk Crab finger-in bit
ghenguno akuhuno pa sünhye-phepe, atukhu
because of Huluk him pull-extracted boulder
akizheolono vephovekelono, achuwo
biggest-one having thrown down and broken Crab
'muno aghokiti kumtsü iloveke. Ti-ghenguno
fragments streams all went in This because of
aghokiti kuchopu achuwo acheni pike.
streams all crabs frequent said.

IX.

THREE BROTHERS.

Of old a Spirit, a Tiger, and a Man were born of one mother. When the Spirit looked after his mother he washed her and fed her with rice and gave her rice beer to drink, so that his mother fared well. When the Man looked after his mother she fared well. When the Tiger looked after his mother he used to scratch her and lick up his own mother's blood so that she withered.

One day the mother said to the Spirit and the Man together "I am going to die to-day. Let the Tiger go to the fields. When I am dead bury my body and cook and eat your meal over my body."

After the Tiger had gone down to the fields his mother

[1] *Ahia-ahia* has no meaning, but represents the grunts of the crab.

died. The Spirit and the Man together buried their mother's body. Over her body they cooked and ate their meal. After that the Tiger came. When he could not find his mother he cried out, "Where is my mother?" With this he scraped about for his mother's body, but being unable to find it fled into the jungle.

Kaghe aza laki-no teghami laki, angshu laki,
Formerly mother one from Spirit one Tiger one

timi laki punuke. Teghami no aza sasüaye
Man one were born Spirit mother while-remaining-with

azü-kuchuveno ana-tsü azhi-zheno
water having bathed rice given liquor having made drink

aza akevishi-a. Timi-no aza sasüaye
mother well-do-remains Man mother while-remaining-with

aza akevi shi-a. Angshu-no aza sasüaye
mother well-do-remains Tiger mother while remaining with

aza chukano aza'zhi mineveno
mother having used to scratch mother's blood having licked

azaye kimoghwoiye agheke.
mother in drying up remained

Aghla laki-no aza-no teghami-ngo timi pamavile pike:
Day one on mother Spirit and Man they-two to said

"Niye ishi tiveni aike. Angshu alu huvepelo.
"I to-day will die am Tiger field let go down

Niye tivepuzü ikumo khwoveno ikumoshouno
I having died my-corpse having buried my-corpse-over

alikuli shi-chulo."
meal make-eat."

Angshu alu huveketino aza tiuveke. Te-
Tiger field having gone down mother died Spirit

ghami-ngo timi pamano aza'kumo khwoveke. Pa'-
and Man they two mother's corpse buried her

kumo shouno alikuli shi-chuke. Tilehina angshu egheke.
corpse over meal make-ate Then Tiger came

Pa'za zhu-pahaiveno atsa pike: "I-za
his mother look-having lost words said "My mother
kilao ai kye?" Ti pino aza'kumo
where is eh?" This having said mother's corpse
lhezhuke. Lhezhu-pahaiveno aghalo poveke.
scrape-sought scrape-seek-having lost jungle-in ran away.

X.

IKI AND THE TIGER.

We Semas have a story of the ancients. I will tell it. Listen, pray.

A Tiger kept a pig.[1] Iki told the Tiger to bait a snare[2] with the pig. The Tiger asked Iki, "How are snares set?" said he. On this Iki said to the Tiger, "Kill[3] the pig and bring along the meat, the forequarters and the hind, and tie it with cords[4] just by the snare." That was what he said, and so the Tiger, supposing him to be in earnest, brought along the fore- and hindquarters and placed them near the snare. Iki took them away, cooked them, and ate them up. Next the Tiger asked Iki why the game was not caught. "Why does not the game get caught?" asked he. So Iki said to the Tiger, "Perhaps you are keeping some of the meat in your house, and that is why game does not get caught in the snare." That is what Iki said to the Tiger. The Tiger having replied "I am keeping a little of the liver and a little of the fat,"[5] went to his house, fetched back the liver and a little of the fat, and set it (by the snare). Iki ate this too, but did not get caught. Then the Tiger said to Iki, "Game does not get caught." Iki said to the Tiger, "In that case fetch here some rice beer and beans and set them by the snare." And so Iki smeared his body all over with rice beer and beans and got caught in the Tiger's snare. The Tiger and the Leopard-cat came down to examine the snare. When he saw the two of them Iki ran down and remained caught. The Tiger in ignorance, supposing it to be real, said to the Leopard-cat, "Game is

caught, is it not ? " and they two carried off the meat. Iki said to the Leopard-cat, " When you are carrying off my body to the house don't exert yourself too much ! " Accordingly the Leopard-cat went along without doing his share of the carrying. The Tiger, being unable to carry (the body alone), said to the Leopard-cat, " You carry properly too." The Leopard-cat went on carrying. Iki took out a knife and slashed the Leopard-cat. The Leopard-cat said to the Tiger," Pismires[6] keep on biting me." The Tiger said, " In that case we will cut up the meat. Pluck and bring leaves." The Leopard-cat went to pluck leaves ; he brought leaves which he had torn. On this the Tiger said, " If that is what you do, bring bamboo ' chungas '[7] now ! " said he. The Leopard-cat went to cut " chungas." He brought them with both nodes cut off. The Tiger said to the Leopard-cat, " I will get (them) ! Stay here and watch the meat."[8] After he had said this, and when he had gone to get the " chungas," Iki said to the Leopard-cat, " Leopard-cat, if you too wish to eat my flesh, make water on my tail ! "[9] On this the Leopard-cat made water on his tail. Iki flicked his tail in the Leopard-cat's eyes and ran off.

Next the Tiger came. " Where has the game gone to ? " he asked the Leopard-cat. " Gondoup, gondoup,"[10] said the Leopard-cat. Then the Tiger struck the Leopard-cat so that he fell over by the side of the path. For this reason the Leopard-cat always frequents abandoned paths.

After this the Tiger, having gone to Iki's home, (found) Iki weaving wall-matting.[11] He spoke to Iki. " Both its hands and its feet were just like yours," said he. Iki said to the Tiger, " My child has got dysentery to-day," and having said this he wove the Tiger's tail into the matting ; the Tiger was not aware of it. A little later Iki said to the Tiger, " If you really want to eat my flesh to-day, drag that and come after me ! " said he. The Tiger chased him, dragging the matting. When he had all but caught him, Iki called out to a *Shefu*[12] that came flying overhead, saying, " O creation[13] of mine ! " The Tiger asked Iki, " The *Shefu*—is it you were his creator ? " The Tiger said to

Iki, "Me too—make me like the *Shefu*." The Tiger said that to Iki. Iki agreed. "Climb up," said he, "and fetch back cane," and then, "Climb down and strip *athughu*[14]—(bark)—bring it back (for fibre)," said he, and then, "Climb up and cut *thumsü*[15] wood and bring it back," said he, and then, "Climb down and find a *shohosü*[16] tree," he ordered. At last, having gone with the Tiger into the jungle, and when (the Tiger) had brought fibre and cane to the *shohosü* accordingly, he tied up the Tiger to the *shohosü* tree. Then he said to the Tiger, "See if you can shake!" He tried to shake; not a bit of it; he couldn't. Then he sharpened the *thumsü* wood. "With this I am making you a beak,"[17] said he, and thrust it into his jaws.[18] Then, "With this I will make you a tail," said he, and he sharpened (another bit of) *thumsü* wood and thrust it into the fundament. After the space of three days Iki and the Leopard-cat came along together. The Tiger was in distress. "Iki," said he, "is it for good that you are doing this, or is it for evil?" Then Iki and the Leopard-cat both went off and came back in nine days' time. The Tiger had died and a blue-bottle fly was laying eggs. Then Iki and the Leopard-cat broke off branches and beat the body till the blue-bottle flew out. Iki said, "I told you to turn into a *shefu*; do you prefer turning into a blue-bottle fly?"

Then he caught the blue-bottle and put her into a bamboo "chunga," and, having smeared the "chunga" with pigs' fat, kept repeating, "There's a charm-stone in this."[19] There was an old widow woman who kept a pig. Iki kept marching round the widow's house. In the widow's house there lived only[20] the widow and a girl. The girl said to Iki, "I will have a look at the charm-stone." When Iki refused, the girl, in spite of it, pulled out[21] the stopper from the bamboo. Off flew the blue-bottle. Then said Iki to the girl, "If it was your pig that you and your mother would be giving me, I'd not take it!"[22] and the girl said, "Be content with my mother's and my pig," so Iki grabbed up the pig and made a pig-cradle[23] and carried it off on his back, chanting, "Oh! she has stopped up Iki's fundament!"[24] On this the girl asked Iki, "Iki! What's that you're

singing ?" "I was singing How heavy the load," says he to her.

For this reason we Semas always tell the story of Iki.

Kaghelomi ni Simi atsa laki anike. Ino ti pini. Inzhulone.

Angshuno awoli[1] peghiake. Ikino angshu-vilo awoli
Tiger pig (male) kept Iki Tiger towards pig
aïtho[2]-shimukha pike Angshuno Ikivilo "Kishishi aïtho-
snare bait said Tiger to Iki "how snare
shichenike la ?" pipuzüno Ikivilo inzhuke. Tilehino Ikino
is made eh" having said to Iki asked Thereon Iki
angshu-vilo ti pike, "Awoli hekhipuzüno[3]
Tiger to this said "Pig having beaten to death
abi-ngo apukhu-ngo ashi pfuhuho aïthovilo
forequarter and leg and meat carry-down snare-near
akeghino[4] tsüpaälo," pike. Tilehino angshuye kucho
with cord tie up" said Then Tiger true
keghashi abi apukhu pfuhuno aïtho-vilo
suppose shoulder leg having carried down snare near
tsüpaäke. Ikino pfewo-lhochuveke. Ipuzüno
place-kept Iki take-away-cook-ate up After this
angshuye mtano "Kushia ashi memoke la ?"
Tiger not knowing "why game is not caught eh"
ti pipuzüno, Ikivilo "Ashiye kushia memoke-
this having said to Iki "The game, why is not caught,
a ?" inzhuke. Tilehino Ikino angshuvilo ti pike "Nono
eh ?" asked Then Iki to Tiger this said "You
ashi akilo paäni-kye, tighenguno aïtholo
meat in house are keeping perhaps therefore in snare
ashi memono anike," Ikino angshuvilo
game not having been caught is" Iki to Tiger
ti pike. Angshuno "Ino alloshi kitila amchi[5] kitila
this said Tiger "I liver little fat little
paänike" pipuzüno, aki wono alloshi-ngo
am keeping" having said house having gone liver and

amchi-ngo susühu-egheno paäke. Ikino ti ghi
fat and fetch-having come placed Iki this too
chuheno memoke. Tilehino angshuno Ikivilo
having eaten-up was not caught Then Tiger to Iki
ti pike "Ashiye memoke." Ikino angshuvilo ti
this said "game is not caught" Iki to Tiger this
pike "Ti shiaye azhicho-ngo a*kh*onye-ngo pfuhu-
said "This do-if rice-beer and beans and bring-down-
egheno, aïthovilo paälo," pike. Ikino azhichopfe
having-come snare-near place" said Iki rice-beer-with
a*kh*onyepfe ishi pa phi kumtsü nupfupuzüno
beans-with thus his body all having smeared over
angshu 'itholo meake. Angshu-ngo anyengu
Tiger's snare-in remained caught Tiger and Leopard-cat
pama aïtho kaniye huegheke. Angshu-ngo
they two snare to examine came out Tiger and
anyengu pama zhuno Ikino pohuno
Leopard-cat they two having seen Iki having run down
meaghike. Angshuye mtano kucho keghashi
remained caught The Tiger unknowing true supposed
anyenguvilo "Ashi meaye-kena!"
to the Leopard-cat "Game being caught is it not so?"
pipuzüno, pama ashi pfuke. Ikino anyengu-vilo"
having said they two meat carried. Iki to the Leopard-cat
"Ikomo akilo pfuwuveno sanoye, ikomo
"my corpse house-to having carried off in taking my corpse
ighwono pfukevilo?" piyeno, tighenguno
with effort do not carry" having instructed therefore
anyenguye pfutsümono cheke. Angshuno
the Leopard-cat not having carry-given went The Tiger
pfumlano anyenguvilo "No ghi
being unable to carry to the Leopard-cat "You too
thapfulo?" pike. Angyenguno pfucheke. Ikino akke
carry fully" said Leopard-cat carried on Iki knife
ikipfe anyengu ghathake. Anyenguno angshuvilo
took out Leopard-cat slashed Leopard-cat to the Tiger

pike "Atisü[6] i-mikikhichenike." Angshuno "Ti shiaye
said "little ants me keep on biting" Tiger "This if do
ikuzho ashi phunike. Akeghu ghesü-eghelo?" pike.
we two meat will cut up leaves pluck-bring" said.
Anyenguno akeghu ghewuke; akeghu sükhuveno
Leopard-cat leaves went to pluck leaves having torn
sügheke. Tilehino angshuno pike "Ti shiaye itaheye
brought Thereon Tiger said "This if do now
asüpuhu sügheloʔ" pike. Anyenguno asüpuhu
bamboo vessels bring" said Leopard-cat bamboo vessels
nichewuke; anhye ghuveno sügheke. Angshuno ti
went to cut node having cut off brought Tiger this
pike anyenguvilo "Ino luwuniʔ Ihi ashi
said to Leopard-cat "I will get Here meat
kheaghelo?" Ti pipuzüno pano asüpuhu
watch over" This having said he bamboo vessels
luwukelaoye Ikino anyenguvilo ti pike,
while had gone to get Iki to Leopard-cat this said
"Anyengu, no ghi i-shi chunishiaye i-shomhi
"Leopard-cat you too my flesh if wish to eat my tail
puzhotelo?" Tipuzüno anyenguno pa'shomhi puzhotetsüke.
urinate on" After this Leopard-cat his tail urinated on.
Ikino pa 'shomhino anyengu 'nhyeti
Iki his tail with the Leopard-cat's eyes
hephovetsüpuzüno poveke.
having caused to strike (lightly) fled.

Tilehino angshuno egheke; anyenguvilo "Ashi kila
Then Tiger came to Leopard-cat "Game where
wuveke?" ti pi-inzhuke. Anyenguno "Ikera, ikera"[10]
has gone" this say-asked Leopard-cat "Gondoup Gondoup"
pike. Tilehino angshuno anyengu hekulupfe,
said Then Tiger Leopard-cat knocked aside
alavelo vesüke. Tighenguno anyenguno
by side of path threw down For this reason Leopard-cat
lave-'zuchenike.
always-walks-about-on-abandoned-paths.

Tilehino angshuno aki-u wupuzüno Ikino
Thereafter Tiger house *the* having gone Iki
atozu ughoake. Ikivilo ti pike "Apukhu ghi
wall-matting was weaving To Iki this said "Leg too
aou ghi noi toh" i-pike, Ikino angshuvilo "I-
hand too you-just like" this said Iki to Tiger "My
ngano ishi azhiba anike." Ti pipuzüno
babe (by) to-day dysentery is" This having said
angshu 'shomhi atozulo ghosüvetsüke; angshuye
Tiger tail wall-matting in wove Tiger
mtano ake. Kuthouno Ikino angshuvilo ti pike,
not knowing was Afterwards Iki to Tiger this said
"No ghi i-shi chuni-shiaye ihi khapfu i-hazulo?"
"You too my flesh if wish to eat that drag me pursue"
pike. Angshuno atozu khapfu pa hake. Pa
said Tiger wall-matting drag him chased Him
haluvenichekelono shefu[12] yeocheghekelono
having begun to catch up hornbill while having flown across
Ikino shefuvilo "o-i-lho" pike. Angshuno
Iki to the hornbill "O my creation" said Tiger
Ikivilo "Shefuye nono lhotsükeshi-a?" ti pi-inzhuke.
to Iki "Hornbill you created what, eh?" this said asked
Tilehino angshuno Ikivilo "Ni ghi shefu toh i-shitsülo"
Then Tiger to Iki "I too hornbill like me make"
pike. Angshuno Ikivilo ti pike. Ikino allopipuzüno
said Tiger to Iki this said Iki having agreed
"Azhou hukeloye akkeh pfueghelo" pipuzüno,
"Up above in climbing cane carry-come" having said
eno "Ghabou huaye atughu lha-pfu-eghelo"
and "Down below climbing fibre-bark strip-carry-come"
pike, eno etaghe "Azhou huaye thumsü
said and again "Up above when climbing acid-wood
hetha-pfu-eghelo" pike, eno "Ghabou huaye
cut-carry-come" said and "Down below when climbing
shohusü zhu-pa-eghelo" piyeno, ike tilehino
hard-wood look-find-come" having directed so then

angshu sasü aghau hupuzüno shohusülo
Tiger with jungle having gone to hard-wood tree
atughu-ngo akkeh-ngo ishi pfepuzüno
fibre bark both cane and accordingly having brought
angshu shohusülo phepukuke. Tilehino
Tiger to the hard-wood tree tied up Then
angshuvilo "Ethazhulo!" pike. Ethazhuke; laimo
to Tiger "Shake-see" said tried to shake little not
shimoveke. Tilehino thumsü *kh*üpuzüno "Ihino
did not do. Then acid wood having sharpened "with this
ahu[17] shitsüanike" pipuzüno, aba*kh*alo[18] *kh*esü-tsüke.
beak shall get made" having said mouth-into thrust-in-gave
Eno "Ihino ashomhi shitsüni" pipuzüno,
and "with this tail will make give" having said
thumsü *kh*üpuzüno asübokilo *kh*esütsüke.
acid wood having sharpened into fundament thrust-in-gave
Aküthunino Iki-ngo anyengu pama
In a three days' space Iki and Leopard-cat they two
huegheke Angshuno amĕlo süagheke, "Iki noye kevipuno
came down Tiger in heart was aching "Iki you for good
i shianike, kesapuno i shianike la?" ti pike.
this are doing for bad this are doing eh?" this said
Tilehino Iki-ngo anyengu pamaye wuvepuzüno aghlo
Then Iki and Leopard-cat they two having gone day
atokunino hugheke. Angshuye tiuvepuzüno
in nine days' time came down Tiger having died
ayela yesüagheke. Tilehino Iki-ngo anyengu
blue-bottle fly was laying eggs Then Iki and Leopard-cat
pama atsüni pighepheno angshu 'kumo
they two leaves having broken off Tiger's corpse
heketino ayela yepegheke. Ikino ti pike
having beaten blue-bottle flew out Iki this said
"Ino shefu miviulo pike, no ayela miviu-
"I hornbill become said you blue-bottle become
shi-a?"
wish eh?"

Tilehino ayelakhu keghasuwo asüpuhulo
Then female blue-bottle caught in bamboo vessel

süpuzüno, ashi-kimitheno asüpuhu nupu-
having put pig's-stomach-fat-with bamboo vessel having

züno "Agha anike" picheke. Thopfumino
smeared "Charm-stone is" kept saying Old woman

awoli pegheake. Ikino thopfumi 'ki mu*kha*aake.
pig kept Iki old woman's house kept walking round

Thopfumi 'kilo thopfumi laki ilimi laki pama
Old woman's house-in old woman one girl one they two

chimeake.[20] Ilimino Ikivilo "Ino agha zhu-tsüni"
lived alone Girl to Iki "I charm-stone will look-give"

pike. Ikino piyemo piamuno, ilimino asü-
said Iki refuse although having said girl bamboo

puhu akimike sujuvetsüke,[21] ayela yeowuveke.
vessel stopper pulled out blue-bottle flew away.

Tilehino Ikino ilimivilo "O-za okuzho 'woli
Then Iki to girl "Your mother's you both pig

i-tsüni pimu, niye lumoke-cho!"
to me will give although say I am not taking-indeed"

ti pino, ilimino Ikivilo, "I-za ikuzho
this having said girl to Iki "My mother's we both

'woli luvetsülo" pino, Ikino awo keghapfe,
pig make take" having said Iki pig grabbed up

awophe shipuzüno akho pfunikelono "Ih! Iki
pig-carrier having made load while carrying off "Oh Iki's

'sübo mikhenhe!" pike. Iketilehino ilimino Ikivilo,
fundament stopped up" said Thereon girl to Iki

"Iki, tiye ku 'le ke?" ti pike Ikivilo inzhuke.
"Iki that what song was" this said to Iki asked

Ikino pavilo "Akho-kemishi 'le ke," pike.
Iki to her "load heavy song was" said.

Tighenguno ni Simiye Iki 'tsa pichenike.
For this reason we Semas Iki's story keep telling.

[1] *Awoli*—not, however, a boar. As mentioned (Part II), grown boars are not kept by Semas, nor, indeed, by other Naga tribes.

[2] For *aitho* see also Part II, under "Hunting," etc.

[3] *Hekhi* or *hekhe* (*cf. nekhe*) is to kill by beating, the usual way of killing pigs.

[4] *Akeghi* is the usual word for string, cord, etc., and is used primarily of jungle creepers and fibre used for tying.

[5] *Amchi* = the fat of the intestines only.

[6] *Atisü*—a very small variety of ant.

[7] A section of bamboo cut off just below one node, which forms the bottom of the vessel, and just below the next node above so as to give an opening at the top. The leopard-cat brought sections of bamboo without a node at either end and so quite useless for holding the blood for which they were wanted. The leaves were wanted to put the pieces of flesh on.

[8] Or "game."

[9] The human and animal attributes of the persons in the tale are changed almost at will. Iki is normally regarded as a man, but is given a tail for the nonce.

[10] "*Ikera*" is meaningless, but might be mistaken for either the word for "went down" or that for "went up" equally well.

[11] The walls of Sema houses are made of bamboo split into narrow slats and woven.

[12] The Malayan Wreathed Hornbill—*Rhytidoceros undulatus*.

[13] *Lho* = "create," *cf. Alho-u* = God—the Creator.

[14] A shrub that produces fibre, the bark being stripped and used for making nets, bow-string, etc.

[15] A fruit tree the berries of which are eaten and the wood of which contains a plentiful supply of very acid sap.

[16] A tree with very hard wood.

[17] *Ahu*—lit. "tooth," but always used of a bird's beak.

[18] *Abakha* appears to give the sense of the *open* mouth; the ordinary word for mouth is *akiche*.

[19] See Part IV, page 253 *sq.* It is customary to anoint charm-stones with fat taken from pigs' intestines.

[20] *Chimemi* is a person who lives without a companion of the other sex, and thus a "widow," "widower," "bachelor," "spinster"; *chime-* is used as the root of a verb meaning to live in such a condition.

[21] *Sujuvetsüke*—or "pulled *off*," according to whether the vessel is closed by a stopper that fits in or a lid that fits over; *akimike* means either.

[22] *I.e.*, as sufficient compensation for the vanished charm-stone. (*Cho* < *kucho* = true.)

[23] Pigs are carried strapped to a flat frame of bamboos which enables a man to carry them on his back. The Naga does not attempt to drive his pig to market.

[24] The expression *i-sübo mikhenhe* is used in derision by a man who has scored off another in a bargain and got much more than the real value of the article sold or bartered. The precise significance of the metaphor is unprintable, but there is much the same expression in vulgar English.

XI.

THE FAIRY WIFE.

Once upon a time a man had two sons. Their father and mother both died. The two brothers lived alone.[1] Sky maidens[2] used to come down the frontal post, and washed themselves; they spied on them. Two girls came and were washing. The elder (boy) spoke to the younger. "I will catch the pretty one; you shall catch the ugly one," he said. The elder first tried to catch the pretty one, but the ugly one fell into his hands, while it so happened that the pretty one came into the hands of the younger (brother). On this account the elder said to the younger, "Let us two go and gather fruits." On the brink of a deep pool there was a fruit tree. (The elder) having said to the younger "You climb up that tree first," the younger climbed up. Then (the elder) cut down the fruit tree and (the younger) fell down into the pool. So his wife took a chicken's thigh, but as she was charming and luring him out[3] (the elder) startled her.[4] Because he had done this the wife of the younger said, "You take me for your wife," and saying so told him to make up a fire afar off. Believing her in earnest and having made up a fire, the younger brother's wife ascended to heaven (in the smoke). Then in heaven she gave birth to a male child. As the child always kept saying "I will go down to the village of my

[1] See Note 20, preceding tale.

[2] The Sema word is *kungulimi*—feminine of *kungumi*—*i.e.*, women of the spirits of the sky. They seem to be conceived of as using the carved pole of the front of the house as a means of descending to earth, but the original is far from explicit.

[3] The Sema word *mussü-sapechepia* (literally "bait-with-lift-come-say continue") means coaxing and enticing along with a bait, and the fairy is probably conceived of as drawing her husband out of the water by supernatural power as with a magnet.

[4] The Sema word *kichi-süvetsü* implies the making of a sudden rush or other movement calculated to startle or frighten. It may have as its object either the fairy or her husband, as the language is ambiguous, but the effect in any case is to break the spell and cause the man's death.

The whole story as recorded is excessively elliptical and suffers in a very typical way from an absence of subjects, objects, and explanations.

father's people," his mother let him down by a thread (tied) round his waist and sent him off. But before he could reach the earth a crow broke the thread and dashed the child to death, so that its liver burst out. And because the crow pecked at it, they say, the crow even now always pecks the flesh of man.

Kaghelomi timi laki-no kepitimi kini punuke. Apu
Men of old man one by males two born Father
aza pama kinikuzho tiuveke. Pama atazü
mother they two two-both died They two brothers
chimeake. Kungulimino atsükucholono azü-
lived alone Sky-spirit women frontal-post-on-from used
kuchucheke; mikiake. Ilimi mi-kinino azü-
to bathe hid and watched Girls two persons came
kuchuagheke. Akicheono aitiuvilo pike "Ino akevio
and were bathing Elder to younger said "I best
kaghaluni, noye alhokesao kaghaluni," i pike. Akicheo
will seize you worst will seize" this said Elder
paghino akevio kaghaäye alhokesaono pa 'oulo
first best while catching worst his hand-in
eghe, akeviono aitiu 'oulo iloghe i shike.
came best younger hand-in entered so happened
Tighenguno akicheono aitiuvilo "Ikuzho a*kha*ti
For this reason elder to younger "We two fruit
*kho*uni," i pike. Aïzü kuchomukulo a*kha*tibo
will gather" so said Pool at the edge of fruit-tree
laki ake. Aitiuvilo "Tipa 'bolo o paghino
one was Younger-towards "that tree-on you first
ikulo" pipuzü aitiu ikuveke. Tilehino
climb up" having said younger climbed up. Then
a*kha*tibo yekhepe, aïzülo vesuveke. Ike pa
fruit-tree cut down into the pool fell So his
'nipfuno awudu 'loko pfe, mussü-sapechepiaye
wife cock thigh took bait-keep-luring-out-while

kichisüvetsü. I shike-ghenguno aitiu 'nipfuno pike
startled This did-because of younger wife said
"Nono o-nipfu i-shipeni" ipiaye, akhalo ami pholo[1]
"You your wife me make" so saying afar off fire light up
pike. Kuchokucho keghashi ami photsükelono aitiu
said true true suppose fire in lighting up younger
'nipfuno atsütsülo ikuveke. Ike atsütsülo anga
wife into heaven ascended So in heaven babe
kepitimi laki punuke. Angano "I-pu nagămi
male one born babe "My-father village-men
'pfulo ikeni" i pikacheake-
village-into will descend" this always kept on
ghenguno, pa 'zano ayethi laki achitalo
saying-because of his mother thread one round-waist-by
chütsüpuzü pikeke. Ike ayeghi tohmla-aphilono
let down sent off So earth before he could reach
aghano aya vethave-tsüpuzü anga vekheveke.
a crow thread having made to break babe killed
Tilehino anga 'lloshi vezoveke. Aghano meghike-
Then babe's liver broke out Crow pecked
ghenguno agha-no itahi ghi timi 'shi meghicheni pike.
because of crow now too men's flesh always pecks said.

XII.

THE FAIRY HUSBAND.

Once upon a time a man had nine sons. Among them was one daughter.[2] One day the girl said to her father and mother "Brew liquor against the settlement of the marriage price with my husband that is to be." A fairy (*kungumi*)

[1] The idea contained in the root *pho-* is not so much that of kindling fire as of blowing up into flame and smoke some smouldering substance. Semas when in the fields often carry torches of smouldering millet husks at which to light their pipes.

[2] The Sema idiom is "Among them one girl emerged"; there were ten altogether.

had said he would marry her; that was why the girl kept talking just like this every day. Her father and mother said to their child, "No one is for marrying you, why do you keep talking about settling the price?"

One day the girl said, "I am going off to-night. After I have made and served the meal I shall go." That night she made ready the meal. In the morning when her parents had risen they looked but could not find her. But in front of the house there were many goats tied. The fairy had taken the girl and presented goats.[1]

When a month had expired the fairy's wife brought a man child to which she had given birth to her parents' house. Her brethren took the babe to dandle it. All nine handled it. As it left the hands of the youngest the babe died. Its mother cried. Just after that fire smoked in the heavens from a very big star. Having seen this the fairy's wife said, "My husband's father and my husband are letting me know that they are coming to fetch me by the smoke from a fire on the big stone behind our house. I must go." Then she applied magic medicine[2] to her child's nostrils. To her mother, "As I am going up do not look at me! If you do look at me you will die without ever seeing my form again." Having given this behest she ascended. Her mother, not obeying her behest, parted the thatch, and looked on. The fairy came down in a red glow and took up his wife and child. Her mother, because she had watched, saw her thereafter never again.

Kaghe timi laki-no kepitimi toku punuke. Tipa
Formerly man one from males nine born These
dolo totimi laki epegheke. Aghlo laki ilimi-no apa-
among girl one emerged. Day one girl father-
azavile pike, "Akimi-noiye amekeghane azhi
mother-to said "Husband-to-be price discuss liquor
beaghile," pike. Kungumi laki-no pa luniapi;
brew" said Kungumi one (by) her will take had said

[1] To pay goats for a bride is not a Sema custom.

[2] *Kekhopi*. No one could say exactly what this was, but it seems to be a sort of charm used medicinally only. *Kekhopi* also = "philtre."

inkegheuno ilimi-no aghla-atsütsü tiliki picheke.
for this reason girl every day just like this kept saying

Apa-aza pa'nuvile pike "Kumo-no o luamono,
Father-mother their child-to said "No one you not taking

kiu 'me keghaniye i pichen' kya ?"
what price for discussing this keep saying eh ?"

Aghlo laki ilimi-no pi. "Niye itizhi wuniaike. Alikuli
Day one girl said "I to-night will go am Meal

shipuzü-no tsüpuzü wuni." Tipazhi alikuli shike.
having made having given will go" That night meal made

Thanawuye apu aza ithouno zhu-pahaiveke.
In the morning father mother having risen look-had lost

Ille aki shekolo anyeh kuthomo tsüpaghe ani.
But house in front of goats many tied up are

Kungumi-no ilimi lukelono anyeh tsüke.
The Kungumi girl when taking goats gave.

Kungumi 'nipfu akhi laki shiketino anu
Kungumi's wife month one having expired child

kepitimi punusasü apa-aza aki-lo
male give birth-brought father-mother house-into

egheke. Pa'pelimi-no anga kapfezhunnia luke. Toku
came Her brethren infant to dandle took Nine

kumtsü pfezhuke. Anupao 'ouluno anga tiveke.
all handled Youngest from the hand of infant died

Pazano kaäke. Tipathuye atsütsülano ayepu akizheo-
Its mother cried After that from heaven star very big-

lano ami phoke. Ti itulupuzü Kungumi 'nipfu pike
from fire smoked This having seen Kungumi's wife said

"I'kimi pa'po-ngo ikimi-ngo isaluniye
"My husband his father and my husband me-for taking

ikisalo athokhu kizhelo amipho ipi-
my house-behind stone big-on fire smoke is-showing-

ani. Niye wuni-aike." Tipathiu pa'nu anhikikilo
to-me I will go am" Thereafter her child nostrils

kekhopi tsüke. Pazavile "Ikukilo
magic-medecine gave Her-mother-towards "ascending-in

ihizhukevelo ! No i hizhuaye allokuthu azhu
me do not look at You me looking at if for ever shape
itumlano tiveni." Tipatsa pivepuzü ikuke.
not having seen will die " This word having said ascended
Pa'za pa'tsa lumono aghi kiyeno
Her mother her word not taking thatch having parted
hizhuveke. Kungumi huchuwi ekeghepuzü
looked on Heavenly Being red having descended
pa'nipfu pa'nga sakūveke. Pa'za hizhuke
his wife her babe took up Her mother looked on
ghenguno tipathiu kilemo itumlaiveke.
because of thereafter never did not see.

XIII.

THE WITCH'S DAUGHTER.

Once upon a time there was a chieftain named Kholaou. When his son was eating fish a fish-bone stuck in his throat. A wise-woman[1] named Khayi and her daughter named Mtsüli were both called in by the chief. " If you two succeed in extracting the fish-bone from my son's throat I will present you with a mithan," said he. Khayi was unable to do so, so Mtsüli said to her mother, " Mother, why don't you get it out ?" Khayi answered, " If you can do so, you extract it."

Mtsüli, after extracting it, was going along driving the mithan and Kholaou's village-men were lying in wait by the path to kill both mother and daughter. Mtsüli was aware of them.[2] " Enemies are lying in wait to kill us," said she. So she sharpened a spear and, having thrust it into the ground, went in under the earth. From an eminence Khayi said, " We have gone home. Who are you waiting to spear, eh ? " With these words, they say, she came driving on the mithan (after Mtsüli).

[1] *Thumomi*. See Part IV, page 230 *sq*.

[2] *Itiluke* usually = " got " (< *iti* " know " and *lu* " take "). Sometimes also " understood."

Kaghelomi kekami laki pa 'zhe Kholaou ake.
Men of old chieftain one his name Kholaou was.

Panu akha chukelono akha-ghi kupühaveke.
His son fish while eating fish-bone stuck-in-the-throat.

Thumomi pa 'zhe Khayi pa 'nu 'zheno Mtsüli
Witch her name Khayi her daughter name Mtsüli

pama aza anuvilo akekaono pike: "Okuzhono
they two mother daughter-to Chief said "You two

inu 'ku'ohlo akha-ghi shiphevetsüaye, avi
my-son throat-from fish-bone if extract mithan

laki o-kutsünia," pike. Khayiye
one to you will buy and give" said. Khayi

itumlaive, Mtsülino pa 'zavilo pike "I-za,
was unable to get Mtsüli her mother-to said "My-mother

noye kushiye shivetsümoke?" pike. Khayino "Shiaye,
you why did not get done" said Khayi "If do

nono shiphevetsülo," pike. Mtsüli-no shiphetsüpuzü
you extract" said Mtsüli having extracted

avi hasasü-wochekelono Kholaou pa
mithan drive-along-with-while-going-along Kholaou his

nagamino pama aza anu iveniye alalo
village men they two mother daughter to kill in the path

kheäkelono, Mtsülino itiluke. "Aghumino ikuzho
while lying in wait Mtsüli was aware "Enemies us two

iveniye kheani" pike. Angu cheghino
to kill are waiting" said Spear having sharpened

ayeghilo kusüpuzü ayeghikouno woveke.
into earth having thrust in under earth went

Aghünglono Khayino pike "Niye i-kilao
From an eminence Khayi said "I my house towards

woveano, nonguye ku-u yiniaye kheanike-a?"
having gone on you whom to kill are waiting, eh?"

pipuzü, avi hasasü-egheve pike.
having said mithan drive-along-with-came said.

XIV.

THE DOG'S SHARE.

We Semas have a story of olden time. Listen, please.

A bitch had given birth to pups. While hunting for meat to give her pups, a partridge in a swampy place was pinched[1] in the foot by a crab. On that the partridge flying up in fear brushed against a sambhar's ear. The frightened sambhar jumped up to run away. In running away he bounded on to the dog and killed[2] her. The puppies said, "Where has our mother gone?" and asked the man. The man said to them, "Your mother was hunting game and the sambhar stamped on her and killed her." The pups asked God, saying, "Between the heavens and the earth who is the greatest?" God said to them "The Tiger is the greatest." The two (pups) went to the tiger's house. The Tiger said to them, "Sleep in my house." Having given them cooked rice, and liquor to drink, they slept in the house. In the night a breeze came blowing. Both pups got up and barked. The Tiger said to them, "The Elephant is greater than I; say nothing."[3] Since he said the Elephant was greater the two of them went to the Elephant's house. The Elephant gave them rice (to eat), liquor to drink, and said to them, "Sleep in my house." So they slept. In the night a breeze came blowing. They put to the proof the Elephant's heart.[4] The Elephant said to them, "The Spirit is greater than I. Say nothing." The pups having said "Under heaven the Spirit is the greatest," said to the Spirit, "Our mother went hunting game to give us meat. As she went the sambhar stamped

[1] The construction in the Sema is not actually passive. The partridge is put into the agentive case (*agili-no*) instead of the crab (*achuwo*), either by an alteration by the teller in the construction of his sentence as he spoke or perhaps by an error of mine in recording. Compare No. VIII, above.

[2] The Sema word *nekhive*—or *nekhivetsü*—(the latter being, strictly, causative) means "to kill by stamping upon."

[3] *Atsa-pikevelo* may simply mean "do not make a noise," or may mean "do not tell your story" to me as I am not the greatest in the world.

[4] By barking as though there were something else coming beside the wind, and therefore some cause for fear.

on and killed our mother. Under heaven the Spirit is the greatest, strike and kill the sambhar." The Spirit said, "Sleep in my house"; he gave them rice, he gave them liquor to drink, and told them to sleep. In the night a breeze came blowing. The pups proved the Spirit's heart. The Spirit said, "The Man is greater than I. Say nothing." The puppies, having said that under heaven the Man was the greatest, said to the man, "Our mother went hunting game to give us meat. The sambhar stamped on and killed our mother as she went." Again "Stamp on and kill the sambhar" said they to the man. The man agreed (to do so); he told them to sleep in his house, gave them rice to eat and liquor to drink, and said to them, "Sleep in my house." In the night a breeze came blowing. The pups put the man's heart to the proof. The man, unafraid in spite of the darkness, said to the pups, "Do not be afraid." The pups were as glad as could be. The man said to the pups, "Pour out and bring water," and the pups poured out and brought water. The man sharpened his dao, sharpened his spear, cooked rice, made curry, and after both of them and the man as well had eaten, the three of them went down into the river-bed and sought for deer tracks. They met with elephant tracks. "This is not it," they said, and met with bison[1] tracks. "This is not it," they said, and having passed by the tracks of all (other) game they met with the slot of a sambhar. The pups said, "This is what killed our mother." Then the man said to the dogs, "You two drive the deer along." Again he said to them, "If the deer comes on the ground you two also come on the ground; if the deer comes on the tree-tops you two must come on the tree-tops also," said he. Then the man got round in front of his quarry in the river-bed. The sambhar came bounding into the river-bed. The man quickly transfixed the sambhar with the spear. Then they cut up the flesh. As the dogs' share he gave the dogs[2] two haunches. The dogs were as glad

[1] *aviela* = the "gaur," *bos gaurus*.

[2] The dogs' share is usually one or both of the hind legs. The whole share of both is, more often than not, not claimed; at any rate, if there

as could be. "Who killed my mother now?" said they, and bit the sambhar in the ears. The man took the head; the rest of the flesh he gave to his villagers.[1]

Now they say that from of old man has kept dogs (for this reason): the dogs after having brought about the death of the sambhar in exchange for their mother, dog and man consorted, so they say. The man, together with the dogs, went to complain to God. God told them to trap the partridge in a snare and eat it. He told them to ask the huluk for the crab. The huluk was groping for the crab. The crab suddenly[2] gave his friend a nip on the hand. The huluk pulled out the crab and dashed it to pieces on a stone. Thence they say crabs spread into all streams. For this reason, they say, every one goes to catch crabs in the streams.

Now from of old we Semas, after hunting game, do not forget the dogs' share. And now, too, we represent to our father Sahib[3] that the dogs' share be not forgotten. So now, too, give order not to forget the dogs' share.

Kaghelomi ni Simi atsa laki ani. Inzhulone!

Atsüno ati piti-paäke. Ati tsüniye
Dog pups had given birth to. (To) pups to give
ashi hakelono agilino ayeghikilono achuwo
meat while hunting partridge in a swampy place crab
apukhulo miki-tsüke. Tilehina agilino musano yewu-
in the foot bit. Thereon partridge in fear while
kelono akhuh kinilo vetsüke. Akhuhno musano
flying off sambhar on the ear touched. Sambhar in fear
poniye ilheïthu; pokelono ilhewo atsü
to run away jumped up in running away jumped dog

are more than a very few participators in the hunt. The share is taken by the owners of the hunting dogs and not given to the dogs themselves.

[1] It would be *genna* to eat it himself, though he would hang up the skull in his house.

[2] Or perhaps "unwittingly"; the want of knowledge implied by *mtano* may refer either to the crab or to the huluk.

[3] In this case the Sub-divisional Officer of Mokokchung, who often has to decide claims for "the dogs' share" of a deer which has been killed by someone who is not of the hunting party chasing the deer, and has refused to give up the share due to the dogs that put it up.

nekhi-veke. Atsütino "I-za kilao
stamped-on-and-killed. Puppies "My mother where
wuvekela?" ti pino timivilo inzhuke.
has gone?" this having said of the man asked.
Timino pavilo pike "O-zaye ashi hawuke-
Man to him said "Your mother game when had gone
lono akhuhno o-za nekhi-veke," ti
to hunt sambhar your mother stamped on and killed," this
pike. Atsütino "Atsütsü-ngo ayeghi pamadolo ku
said. Puppies "Heaven and earth between the two who
akizheo kela?" ti pino Alhouvilo inzhuke.
greatest is?" this having said God asked.
Alhouno pamavilo "Angshu akizheo" pike.
God to the two of them "Tiger greatest" said.
Pamano angshu 'kilo wuveke. Angshuno pamavilo
They two tiger house-in went Tiger to them (two)
"I-kilo zülo" pike. Ana pama
"my house in sleep" said cooked rice to them (two)
tsü,[1] azhi pama zhino pa 'kilo
give liquor them having given to drink his house in
zuake. Puthouno amulhu mulhu-egheke. Atsüti pamano
slept. In the night breeze blow-came. Pups they two
eghathugeke. Angshuno pamavilo ti pike
got up and barked. Tiger to them (two) this said
"Ni-ye akaha pa 'zhe ke. Atsa pikevelo?" pike.
"I than elephant he big is word do not say?" said.
Pamano akaha pa zhe keno pino, akaha
They two elephant he big having been having said elephant's
'kilo wuveke. Akahano ana pama
house to went. Elephant cooked rice to them (two)
tsüno, azhi zhishino, pamavilo
having given liquor having given to drink to them (two)
"I-kilo zülo" pike. Tilehi züake. Puthouno
"My house-in sleep" said. Then slept. In the night

[1] The postposition *-no* of *zhino* qualifies *tsü* as well as *zhi*, as often it is suffixed to the latter of two such verbs only.

amulhu mulhu-egheke. Akaha 'mlo phezheke.
breeze blow-came Elephant heart put to proof
Akahano pamavilo "Ni-ye teghami pa zhe ke. Atsa
Elephant to them "I than spirit he big is Word
pikevelo?" pike. Atsütino "Atsütsükholoye teghami
do not say?" said Pups "Under heaven spirit
akizheo" ti pino, teghamivilo "I-zano ashi
greatest," this having said to the spirit, "My mother meat
i-tsüniye ashi hawuveke. Wukelono akhuhno
to give me game went hunting While going sambhar
i-za nekhiveke. Atsütsükholoye
my mother stamped-on-and-killed. Underneath heaven
teghami pa zhe keno, akhuh hekhivetsülo" pike.
spirit he big being sambhar strike-and-kill" said
Teghamino "I-kilo zülo" pike; ana
Spirit "My house-in sleep" said; cooked rice
pama tsü, azhi zhino pama-vilo zü
(to) them give liquor having given to drink to them sleep
pike. Puthouno amulhu mulhu-egheke. Atsütino teghami
said In night breeze blow came. Pups spirit's
'mlo phezhuke. Teghamino "Ni-ye timi akizhe ke.
heart put to proof. Spirit "I than man great is
Atsa pikevelo?" pike. Atsütino atsütsükholoye
word do not say?" said. Pups underneath heaven
timi pa zhe keno ti pino, timivilo atsütino
man he big being this having said to man pups
"I-zano ashi i-tsüniye ashi ha-wuveke.
"My mother meat to give to me game went hunting
Wukelono akhuh-no i-za nekhivetsuke";
while going sambhar my mother stamped-on-and-killed";
timivilo "Akhuh nekhivetsülo" pike. Timino allopike;
to man "Sambhar stamp-kill," said. Man agreed
pa 'kilo züpike, ana tsü azhi zhi-
his house-in sleep-said cooked rice give liquor having given
ishino pamavilo "I-kilo zülo" pike.
to drink to the two of them "My house-in sleep" said.

Puthouno amulhu mulhu-egheke. Atsütino timi 'mlo
In the night breeze blow-came. Pups man's heart
phezhuke. Timiye musamono puthouno atsüvilo
put to proof Man not fearing in the night to pups
"Musakevelo" ti pike; atsütino pālo kĕvī-
"Do not fear" this said pups their good went on
shiāke. Timino atsütivilo "Azü lesü-eghelo"
making good. Man to the pups "Water pour and bring"
pipuzü, atsütino azü lesü-egheke.
having said pups water poured out and brought.
Timino aztha chighe, angu chigheno, ana
Man dao sharpen, spear having sharpened, rice
beno, ayelho ishino, pama ghi timi
having cooked, curry having made, they two both man
ghi chupuzüno, pana küthu aghokilo ilono
and having eaten they three river-bed having entered
ashipa sheke. Akaha-pa sholuke. "Ihi
tracks sought. Elephant-tracks met with "This
kumoke," ti pino, avielapa sholuke. "Ihi
is not (it)" this having said bison-tracks met with. "This
kumoke," ti pino, ashi kumtsü 'nyepa
is not (it)" this having said game all tracks
piyepahano akhuh 'nyepa sholuke. Atsütino pi
having discarded sambhar tracks met with pups said
"Ihino i-za nekhiveke." Tilehino timino
"This my mother killed (by stamping)" Thereon man
atsüvilo "Okuzhono akhuh ha-eghelo." Ti
to pups "You two sambhar drive-come." This
pino timino pamavilo "Akhuhno ayeghilono
having said man to them (two) "Sambhar on the earth
egheaye nokuzho ghi ayeghilono eghelo; akhuhno
if come you two also on the earth come sambhar
asülono egheaye nokuzho ghi asülono
from on tree come-if you two also tree-from-on
eghelone," pike. Tilehino timino aghokilono ashi
come please" said. Thereon man in the river-bed game

thawuke. Akhuhno aghokilo ilheïlo-egheke.
got round in front of. Sambhar in river-bed jumped came
Timino mtazü anguno akhuh chekhike. Tilehino
Man quickly with spear sambhar transfixed. Thereon
ashi phuke. Atsü sala apukhu kini atsü tsüke.
meat cut up dogs' share legs two (to) dogs gave
Atsüno palo kevishi "Kinono i-za nekhi-
dogs rejoiced-exceedingly who my mother stamped on
veke la?" ti pino akhuh kinilo
and killed eh?" this having said sambhar in the ear
miki-tsüke. Akutsü timino luke. Ashi ketao agami
bit head man took flesh remaining villagers
tsüke.
gave.

Eno kagheye timino atsü pegheno p'ani. Atsü
So of old man dog having kept they say dog
pa 'za zukhu akhuh ivetsüketeno
his mother in exchange for sambhar having caused to kill
atsü-ngo timi pama awuve p'ani. Timino atsü
dog and man they two consorted they say Man dog
sasü Alhouvilo atsa keghawuke. Alhouno
take with to God word went to complain God
agiliye akusulono mechulo pike. Achuwoye akuhuvilo
partridge in snare trap-eat said. Crab huluk-towards
khupelo pike. Akuhuno achuwo khuake. Achuwuno
ask for said "Huluk" (for) crab was scraping crab
mtano pa 'shou aoulo miki-tsüke. Akuhuno achuwo
suddenly his friend in hand bit-gave. Huluk crab
süzosu epegheno athulo vephoveke.
pull having extracted on a stone dashed to pieces.
Tilehino achuwo aghoki kumtsü iloveke p'ani.
Thereon crab streams all entered they say.
Tighenguno kumtsüno aghokilo achuwo kucheni
Therefore everyone in the streams crab go to catch
p'ani.
they say.

Eno kagheno ni Simino ashi ha-kelono
And so from of old we Semas game when hunting
atsüsa pahamoke. Itahe ghi atsüsa
the dogs' share do not forget. Now too dogs' share
pahamokeye, i-pu Shahavilo
while not having forgotten my father Sahib-near
keghacheni. Itahemu atsüsa pahakevelo
will represent. Even now dogs' share do not forget
pilepi.
give order.

XV.

WOODPECKER'S CORNER.

Once upon a time there was a man. His name was Khwonhyetsü. At the top of a tree at the edge of his field[1] a woodpecker had hatched out young. A tigress at the foot of that tree had borne and was rearing cubs. When their mother was away Khwonhyetsü[2] thrust spines of the *khwoghe* tree right in[3] to the hearts of the tiger-cubs and so did them to death. The tigress mother came back. "My babes—why have they died!" she cried. "I have eaten no *yechuye*[4] and I have eaten no *aghiye*[5] and I have eaten no *ashebaghiye*![5] Since I have not done so why have my babes died!" Saying this and without detecting Khwonhyetsü's trick, the tigress sung this lament, "Alas! alas! for the woodpecker's corner![1] Alas! alas! for Khwo-

[1] *Aluba* lit.= "field dung" and means the wasted strip that must be cut along the edge of the jungle to let sun and air to the field, but which cannot be itself cultivated owing to its nearness to the high growth of the jungle. Big trees in this strip are not felled, but merely stripped of their leaves; the lower growths are not carefully cleared, but roughly cut and laid. An *aluba* is, no doubt, what Omar was referring to in his

"Strip of Herbage strown
That just divides the desert from the sown."

[2] *Khwo-nyetsü.* The root *nyetsü* means "to poke," and there may be some connection, though this root is usually limited to an obscene sense.

[3] The precise meaning of *khuda* is that the thorn was thrust in so that no part remained above the level of the skin.

[4] ? A *polygonum.*

[5] *Hydrococtyle javanica. Ashebaghiye* (= deer's "aghiye"—*ashe pa 'ghiye*) is probably a similar plant. It is not known why the tigress might not eat these herbs.

nhyetsü's corner!" With this dirge she fled. And so for this reason any of us Semas who has killed a tiger, as long as he lives, goes without eating these plants.

Kaghelomi timi laki, pa'zhe Khwonhyetsü, ake.
Men of old man one his name Khwonhyetsü was
Pa'lubalo asushuno asübokungu ati ati-
his field-waste-in woodpecker at the top of a tree young had
khoa. Angshuno tipa 'sübolo aphelo ati
hatched out tiger that tree at near under young
piti-sasüake. Angshu aza kaha-
give-birth-was-accompanying tiger mother is-not-after-
thilono Khwonhyetsüno khwoghesahu khuda angshu-
while-in Khwonhyetsü *khwoghe* spine flush tiger-
ti 'melolo khusüvetsüpuzü pitiïveke. Angshu
cubs heart in having thrust in did to death tiger
aza egheno. "I-ngaye ku-ughenguno
mother having come "My babes for what reason
tiake-a?" i pipuzü, "Ino yechuye chumo,
have died" This having said "I *yechuye* did not eat
ino aghiye ghi chumo, ino ashebaghiye ghi
I *aghiye* too did not eat I deer's *aghiye* too
chumo! I shimono ku-ughenguno i-nga
did not eat This not having done for what reason my babes
tianike-a?" Ishi ti piakelono Khwonhyetsüno
have died eh?" Thus this while saying Khwonhyetsü
mikiakelono, angshuno ale pheke "He-e,
continuing to deceive tiger song lamented "alas
he-e, asushu 'luba? He-e, he-e, Khwonhyetsü
alas woodpecker's field-refuse alas alas Khwonhyetsü's
'luba?" ishi phepuzü poveke. Ike
field-refuse" thus having lamented fled. And so
tighenguno ni Simiye angshu ikemiye timokelo
for this reason we Semas tiger killer as long as not die
hipa yeye chumono cheni.
these plants not having eaten proceed.

XVI.

THE YEPOTHOMI.

We Semas have a story of olden time. I will tell it. Listen, please.

To one father, a Yepothomi, and from one womb, six sons were born. Counting the father it made seven. After buying six ivory armlets[1] to share among them, but having been unable to buy an armlet for the youngest, the father died in the meantime.[2] The youngest took his father's ivory armlet. On the youngest's arm it was loose. The youngest said to his elder brother, "My brother,[3] take father's armlet and give me yours." His elder brother took this saying ill and, raising his dao, cut down his younger brother. Then the others said to him, "You have killed your younger brother. Go hence." For this he went to the Sema side, and of the four, one[4] fled to the village of the Yachumi,[5] and another[4] entered the village of the Lophomi,[6] another[4] went to the Muchomi[7] side, and another[4] went to the Tukomi[8] side. For this reason our Yepothomi clan became most numerous among Tushomi,[9] and among Semas, being from one womb, it is small. Among the Semas the Yepothomi are said to be few. Over there among Tushomi the Yepothomi clan is said to be numerous.

[1] The ivory armlet—*Akahaghi*—consists of a slice from a thick part of an elephant's tusk, the arm being put through the central hollow.

[2] *Khumlano-aphilono—cf.* No. XXII, note 1.

[3] In the Sema *I-mu*—"my elder brother." The distinction of seniority among brothers is very carefully observed in forms of address; a younger brother would never say "brother" simply, or use the personal name without prefixing "my elder brother."

[4] In the Sema *hamino* = "some." It may refer to their descendants, but appears to be used of the brothers themselves.

[5] The Yachungr tribe.

[6] The northern part of the Sangtam tribe.

[7] The Chang tribe.

[8] The southern Sangtams. In the Sangtam and Yachungr tribes there are clans believed to be identical with the Yepothomi. See Part III, pp. 123, 124, 134.

[9] The word Tushomi is vaguely used by Semas for tribes east of them and until recently mainly hostile and having little communication with them. The word might almost be rendered "Barbarians."

Kaghelomi ni Simi atsa lake ani. Ino ti pini, inzhulone !

Apu laki Yepothomino apfo lakilono anu tsoghoh
Father one Yepothomi womb one-from child six
punuke. Apu phino tsini shike. Aka-
born. Father having counted seven made Ivory arm-
haghi tsoghoh sala khulono panondolo anipao
lets six share having bought them among youngest's
'kahaghi khumlano-aphilono
ivory armlet in the time during which he was unable to buy
apu tiuveke. Anipao apu 'kahaghi luke.
father died. Youngest father's ivory armlet took.
Anipao 'ouloye kukushikeke. Anipaono amuvilo
Youngest arm on shook about. Youngest to elder brother
"I-mu, i-pu 'kahaghi nono
"My elder brother, my father's ivory armlet you
luno o-kahaghi i-tsülo," pike.
having taken your ivory armlet to me give" said.
Amuno tipa 'tsa alhokesa keghashino
The elder brother this word bad having estimated
azhta pfe aîtiu kiveghile. Tilehino panoñ
dao lift younger brother cut down. Thereon they
pavilo "Nono aitiu ghikhiveke. Hilao
to him "You younger brother have killed From here
awuve" pipeke. Tighengu pano Similao awuveke,
go away" ordered. Therefore he Sema side went along
eno pano' bidiye hamino Yachumi pfulo poveke,
and they four some Yachungr village-into fled
eno hamino Lophomi pfulo iloveke, eno hamino
and some Pirr village into entered and some
Muchomi kilao woveke, eno hamino Tukomi kilao
Chang direction went and some Isa-chanr direction
woveke. Tighenguno ni Yepothomi 'yeh Tushomi
went. For this reason we Yepothomi clan Tushomi
kilao kutomo shiuveke, eno Simiye apfo lakino
direction many became and Sema womb one-from

kitla shiuveke. Simi kilaoye Yepothomi kitla shi
few became. Sema direction in Yepothomi few do
pike. Hulao Tushomi kilaoye Yepothomi 'yeh
said. On that side Tushomi direction-in Yepothomi clan
kutomo ani pike.
many is said.

XVII.

THE YEPOTHOMI AND THE AYEMI.

Now I will tell you a story. Listen, please.

Of old the Ayemi and we the Yepothomi were, it is said, one clan. Of one father six sons were born. While the eldest brother[1] had no substance,[2] the youngest brother had. The eldest could not bear the sight of the youngest. He said to the younger, "My brother, let us go and sacrifice a fowl in our fields." [3] On that the youngest assented. The youngest had his fields at the edge of the village; the eldest had his fields afar off. Then the other brothers[4] said to both of them, "For fear of enemies, do not go." But they went, not heeding their saying. The eldest said, "Brother,[5] as you are going in front, please break off leaves and put them (in the path) for a sign.[6] (Then) he himself without making it known (to his younger brother) went (back). Then came enemies and took the head of the youngest. Then the other four brothers said to the eldest, "Why has not the youngest come?" The eldest answered, "We did

[1] *Amu akicheo* = lit. the first elder brother.

[2] *Akuchupfu* = the wherewithal to eat.

[3] The fowl is killed in the fields, plucked, and singed there, but brought back and eaten afterwards.

[4] *Amthaonoko* = lit. "the in between ones."

[5] *I-tükuzu* = "my younger brother." See note No. 3 to the preceding story.

[6] Referring to the common practice of breaking off a bough a twig and placing it at cross roads across the path which is not to be followed. An enemy seeing fresh twigs placed in this way would know someone had just gone by, while the younger brother would assume from being asked to do this that the elder meant to follow and overtake him.

not go together." Then the four came to see. Enemies had taken his head. The body they found. After that they spoke words; they told (the eldest) to go by himself. For this reason the Yepothomi became more than the Ayemi,[1] and the Ayemi, they say, planted in their fields the jungle plant *narubo*. And we Yepothomi, for fear of enemies, always perform the field ceremony in our houses.[2]

Eno ino atsa laki ovilo pini. Inzhulone.
Now I word one to you will tell. Listen (please)!

Kagheye Ayemi niuṅ Yepothomi ayeh laki pike.
In olden time Ayemi we Yepothomi clan one said.

Apu lakino anu lakino anu tsogho punuke.
Father one-from mother one-from child six born.

Amu akicheono akuchupfu kahano anipaono
Elder brother first sustinence not being youngest
akuchupfu acheke. Akicheono anipao zhuni-
sustinence continued to be. Eldest youngest did not
shimokeke. Anipaovilo "I-tükuzu, alulo
wish to behold. To youngest "My younger brother in field
awu ghewuni," pike. Tilehino anipaono allopike.
fowl will sacrifice" said. Then youngest agreed.

[1] The Yepothomi being descended from the four middle brothers and the Ayemi from the eldest.

[2] Different plants are used by different clans. Thus the Yepothomi and the Chophimi use a little plant with a white flower, calling it *alulabo*, a name which refers to its use, and is probably used by each clan alike for its own plant. The ordinary method is to search for the plant used, dig it up with the root, and take it to the place where reaping is to begin. Then a little rice, meat, and liquor are placed on the plant, which is set down by the crop to be reaped, probably to afford a living dwelling for the rice spirit which is to be deprived of its home, though this intention seems to have been forgotten by most if it was ever known to the commonalty. The Ayemi, however, plant the *narubo* at the edge of the crop, so that it grows there ready, and the rice, liquor, etc., are placed by the plant where it grows. The Yepothomi, on the other hand, take their plant to their houses and, having performed the ceremony there, take it to the fields. It may be noted that the word used in this connection for plant, *aye*, is probably the same as that for custom and also for clan.

Anipaono akubalala alucheke; akicheono
Youngest at edge of village was cultivating eldest

aghacheu alucheke. Tilehino amthaonokono
afar off was cultivating. Then the (brothers) in between

pamavilo "Aghümi musano wukevilo" pike.
to the two "Enemies having feared do not go" said.

Panoṅ 'tsa lumono wuveke. Akicheono pi
Their word not having taken went. Eldest said

"I-tükuzu, opagheno gwovemu alalo
"my younger brother first though going in path

amichishi atsüni sütaki-vetsülone."
making signification leaves pluck and place (please)."

Pano piyemono wuveke. Tilehino aghümi
He without informing went. Then enemies

egheno anipao ipfuve. Tilehino amthao-
having come youngest beheaded. Then the (brothers)

kono pana bidino akicheovilo "Anipao eghe-
in between they four to eldest "youngest not having

mono kushia?" pike. Akicheono "Ikuzho wumpi,"
come why" said. Eldest "we two did not go"

pike. Tilehino pana bidino zhu-egheke. Aghümino
said. Then they four came to look. Enemies

ipfuwuve-agheke. Akumo ituluke. Tilehino atsa
had beheaded and gone. Corpse found. Then words

pike; pano pa keta shiwuve pike. Tighenguno
said; he his different make-go said. For this reason

Ayemiye Yepothomi pachike; eno Ayemiye
Ayemi-than Yepothomi became more and Ayemi

aghala tsüni narubo alulo shuwuye pike. Eno
jungle plant *narubo* in field went to plant said. And

niye Yepothomiye aghümi musano akilono
we Yepothomi enemy having feared in house

aluye shiluvecheni.
field-custom (or "field leaf") always-make-take.

XVIII.

THE NAMING OF THE CLANS.

Let me tell of our Sema clans. Listen, please.

The Yeputhomi were called Yeputhomi by reason of their deep (*tho*) hearts,[1] and the Ayemi were called Ayemi for their chattering (*yeye*). And the Awomi, not using fair speech towards men, always speak contentious (*awou*) words: for this reason they were called Awomi. And a Chishilimi stole from a man's house. The man said to him, "Why did you steal from my house?" and on his replying "I stole not" smote[2] him in the mouth. For this reason his clan was called Chishilimi. And the Kibalimi,[3] through fear, defecated within their houses, therefore their clan was called Kibalimi. And the Tsükomi when struggling with a man were gripped (*tsükü*) by him by the throat (*ku'oh*). For that reason they were called Tsükomi. And when the men of other clans were comparing their exploits in hunting and war, the Wokhami having fattened their pigs (*awo*) measured their girth (*khakimhe*) to see whose was the biggest. For this reason they were called Wokhami. And the Kinimi[4] were rich in grain and rich in cattle. Therefore they were called Kinimi. And a Wotzami having killed an enemy was catching a pig (*awo*) for sacrifice[5] when the pig bit (*tsa*) him

[1] *'Ye* = clan, *tho* = deep; the sense being rather bad than good. The derivations are sufficiently far-fetched. It is impossible to reproduce the play upon words in the translation, but a reference to the Sema text will in most cases make the point obvious. Where this is not the case notes have been given.

[2] *Chishi* = to strike with the fist held with the back of the hand upwards, the thumb straight, not bent as with us, and the first joint of the finger being accordingly more nearly in the line with the back of the hand than is the case with the fist as we double it, so that the blow is delivered with the middle joints of the fingers rather than those at the base of them.

[3] *'Ki* = house, *'ba* = dung (*bai* = defecate). The idea is that they were afraid to go out in the early morning, which is a favourite time for raids by head-hunters.

[4] *Kinimi* = "rich man," as well as being the name of a clan. In the latter sense there is an alternative interpretation which makes *Kinimi* a patronymic = descendants of one Kini.

[5] *Aghüpu* is the ceremony performed after taking a head. The pig killed at it is therefore called *aghüpu'wo*, the sacrificed pig. See also Part III, page 126 *sq.*, for Zumomi, etc.

in the hand. Therefore they were called Wotzami. And because the women of the Shohemi kept craning forward (*shohe*) their necks they were called Shohemi. And the Chophimi by reason of their neck remaining sticking up (*chophe*) out of a deep pool were called Chophimi. And the Achumi for the eating (*chu*) of much cooked rice (*ana*) were called Achumi.

Ni Simi'yeh pinine,
Of us Semas clans will tell (with your permission),
inzhulone !
listen (please).

Yeputhomino amelo tholoye Yeputhomi shitsüpike,
Yeputhomi in heart deep-being Yeputhomi made call
eno Ayemiye atsa yeyeshiye Ayemi shitsüke. Eno
and Ayemi words in chattering Ayemi made and
Awomi timivilo atsa akevi pimono atsa
Awomi to men words good not having spoken words
awou picheni ; tighenguno Awomi shitsüke. Eno
contentious keep saying for this reason Awomi made and
Chishilimi lakino timi 'kilo pukake. Timino pavilo
Chishilimi one man's house-in stole. Man to him
" Noye kushiye i-kilo pukake ? " ti pike, pano
" You why my house-in stole " this said he
" Pukamo " pike-ghenguno pa 'kichi chishike. Tighengu-
not steal said-because of his mouth punched. For this
no pan' ayeh Chishilimi kutsüke. Eno Kibalimino
reason their clan Chishilimi made call and Kibalimi
musano aki seleku baiveke-ghenguno, pan' ayeh
having feared house within defecated because of their clan
Kibalimi shitsüke. Eno Tsükomiye timino kiche-
Kibalimi made and Tsükomi with a man while
ghikelono pano 'ku'oh tsüküke. Tighenguno Tsükomi
struggling he gullet seized. For this reason Tsükomi
shitsüke. Eno ayeh ketamino ashi aghü ku*khu*-
made and clan other men's game war while com-

akelo, Wokhamino awo pulhono ku
paring and reckoning Wokhami pig having fed whose
'wo pa zhe la khakimheke. Tighenguno Wokhami
pig it big eh ? measured. For this reason Wokhami
shitsüke. Eno Kinimino athi kutomo amishi kutomo
made and Kinimi grain much cattle much
pegheye, tighenguno Kinimi shitsüke. Eno Wotsamino
in fostering for this reason Kinimi made and Wotsami
aghümi ikelono aghüpu'wo keghanikelono awono
enemy having killed sacrificed pig while catching a pig
aou tsavetsüke. Tighenguno Wotsami shitsüke. Eno
hand bit. For this reason Wotsami made and
Shohemi totimino aku'oh shohe-shoheke-ghenguno,
Shohemi women necks stretch out-stretched out because of
Shohemi shitsüke. Eno Chophimiye aïzülono aku'oh
Shohemi made and Chophimi in deep pool neck
chophe agheye Chophimi shitsüke. Eno Achumino
stick out in remaining Chophimi made and Achumi
ana kutomo chukeghenguno Achumi shitsüke.
rice much ate-because of Achumi made.

XIX.

THE ORIGIN OF TRIBES.

They do say[1] that of old the Foreigners, Angamis, Aos, Lhotas, and we Semas had the same ancestor,[2] and the same mother they say. When they separated their father killed a bull[3] and gave it to them. "Who will eat the head ? "

[1] *Pikema.* It is difficult to render this form in English. The suffix *-ma* gives a sort of concessive or indefinite effect to the more ordinary *pike*, perhaps intended here to be apologetic.

[2] *Apu-asü* = lit. "father-grandfather."

[3] *Muru.* This word for a bull is probably not of genuine Sema origin. It is unknown to most Semas. Perhaps it is merely obsolete.

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said he. The Foreigner, that he might become the Foreigner, said, "As for the head I will eat it." "Who will eat the shin?" said (the father). The Angami, that he might become the Angami, said, "I will eat the shin." And then "Who will eat the hoof?" said (the father). The Lhota, to become the Lhota, said, "I will eat it." "The heart—who will eat that?" said (the father). The Ao, to become the Ao, said, "I will eat it." "Who will eat the fore-leg?" said (the father). The Sema, to become the Sema, said, "I will eat the fore-leg."

The Kolami, because he had eaten the head, became the greatest. The Angami, because he had eaten the shin, became great in the calf.[1] The Ao, because he had eaten the heart, even in the face of an enemy, keeps a great heart and calls on his father's name, when men are spearing (him) and shouting, and does not call on his mother.[2] The Lhota, because he had eaten the foot, is a great walker when travelling, they say. And we Semas, because we had eaten the fore-leg, are light-fingered,[3] they say, and in hunting game, too, we Semas are clever to strike, they say, and we Semas in making war, too, are quick of hand to kill, they say.

Foreigners, we Semas, Angamis, Lhotas, and Aos were thus of one ancestry. (Their father) divided clothing. Then the Foreigner, to become the Foreigner, took the hat, boots, and from that day many cloths. To the Angami[4] after the Foreigner his parents gave three cloths, and they made him put on a kilt[5] too. After the Angami his parents wove

[1] The Angami is known for the size of his calves.

[2] The Sema in distress or *in extremis* always calls out *iza, iza*, "mother, mother." The Ao calls "father, father," but the Sema notion that this indicates bravery is fallacious.

[3] Alluding to the Sema propensity for picking and stealing.

[4] *Tsungumi-no.* There is break in the construction. The relator has begun to say what the Angami took, hence the agentive case, but has ended by saying what his parents gave to him.

[5] *Amini* really = "petticoat," used of the Angami kilt, a black cloth wrapped round the loins starting at the back and ending in the front, and covering the body from the waist to halfway down the thigh, one corner being pulled between the legs from behind and fastened by a cord running up to the waist.

three cloths for the Ao and wove him a loin-cloth as well. Two cloths and a loin-cloth [1] they wove the Lhota. For our Sema they wove one cloth only. And as there was no thread left they wove him a little flap.[2] For this reason even now Semas wear a little flap about their loins.

Kagheye Kolami-ngo Tsungumi-ngo Cholimi-ngo
In old time Foreigners and Angamis and Aos and
Choemi-ngo ni Simi-ngo ishi apu-asü laki
Lhotas and we Semas too thus father-grandfather one
pikema, aza laki pike. Panoṅ kütuta shinikelo
suggested mother one said. They separate when making
apuno muru hekhino panoṅ tsüke. "Kuno akutsü
father bull having killed to them gave. "Who head
chuni?" pike. Kolamino Kolami shinikeuno "Akutsü
will eat" said. Foreigner Foreigner for doing "Head
ino chuni" pike. "Kuno apite chuni?" pike.
I will eat" said. "Who calf will eat" said.
Tsungumino Tsungumi shinikeuno "Ino apite chuni" pike.
Angami Angami for doing "I calf will eat" said
Eno "Kuno apukhu chuni?" pike. Choemino Choemi
and "Who foot will eat" said. Lhota Lhota
shikeuno "Ino chuni" pike. "Amlo kuno chuni?" pike.
for doing "I will eat" said. "Heart who will eat" said.
Cholimino Cholimi shikeuno "Ino chuni" pike. "Kuno
Ao Ao for doing "I will eat" said. "Who
abi chuni?" pike. Ni Simino Simi shikeuno "Ino abi
arm will eat" said. We Semas Sema for doing "I arm
chuni" pike.
will eat" said.

[1] *Ashola* is the word used for the Ao and Lhota "lengta," a garment consisting of a strip of cloth running round the waist and down between the legs from behind and up in front, where the end passes under the girdle part and hangs over, having expanded into a square or oblong flap.

[2] *Akichekeka.* The tribal loin-cloth of the Sema is a single flap, about 9 inches by 3, either depending from the girdle or formed from one end of it. It is not fastened between the legs in any way. It is, however, rapidly giving place to a form of the *ashola.*

Kolamino akutsü chukegheuno akizheo shiwuveke.
Foreigner head ate-because of biggest became (do-went)
Tsungumino apite chukeghaono apite-kizhekemi shiwuveke.
Angami calf ate-because of big-calf-men became
Cholimino amlo chukegheuno aghümino ikelo
Ao heart ate-because of enemies (by) when killing
ghi amlo kizhe shino apu zhe kukethiuno
even heart big having made father's name after calling on
timi yikeghoye aza zhe kumoi.
man in spearing and shouting mother's name do not call
Choemi apukhu chukeghaono apukhuno izuwukeloye
Lhotas foot ate-because of a-foot in journeying
alache'tikemi pike. Eno ni Simino abi
men-who-know-to-walk-the-road said and we Semas arm
chukeghaono aou papashi puka pike, eno ashi
ate-because of hand quick steal said and game
hakelo ghi ni Simino ashi cheti pike, eno ni
while hunting too we Semas game know-to-hit said and we
Simino aghüshikelo ghi aou papashi aghü ië pike.
Semas while making war too hand quick war kill said.
Kolami-ngo, ni Simi-ngo, Tsungumi-ngo, Choemi-ngo,
Foreigners and we Semas and Angamis and Lhotas and
Cholimi-ngo ishi apu-asü lakikeke. Api-nhyemoga
Aos too thus forefather one was. Cloth-articles
kizhepike. Tilehino Kolamino Kolami shikeuno akutsü-
divided. Then Foreigner Foreigner for doing head-
kokho, apukhukokho, isheno api kutomo luke.
covering boots from that day cloths many took.
Tsungumino Kolami sheloke api küthu tsüno
Angami Foreigner after cloths three having given
apu-azano amini ghi shotsüke. Tsungumi sheloke
father-mother, kilt too made to put on. Angami after
apu-azano api küthu Cholimi ghotsüno
father-mother cloths three (to) Ao having weave-given
ashola ghi ghotsüke. Api kini Choemi
loin cloth too weave-gave. Cloths two (to) Lhota

ghotsüno ashola laki ghi ghotsüke. Ni
having weave-given loin cloth one too weave-gave. We

Simiye api laki liki ghotsüke. Eno aye
Semas as for cloth one only weave-gave and thread

kahakeghenguno akichekeka kitila ghotsüke.
was not-because of flap little weave-gave.

Tighenguno itahe ghi Simino akichekeka kitila
For this reason now too Semas flap little

minicheni.
wear-about-the-loins.

XX.

ARKHA SINGS.

Once upon a time Arkha had driven out (of the village)[1] the brothers Hocheli and Amiche. Therefore the two of them, when Arkha was asleep, got fire to burn Arkha to death by setting light to his house. While they were getting the fire Arkha woke up and made a song—"Woe is me," so he sang, "O Amiche! O Hocheli! while you remained in my village we were rivals; now that you have gone the village is cold." Such were the words he kept singing. For this reason the two pitied him. "He is the boy to keep thinking of us," they said, and did not put fire to (his house), they say.

Kaghelomi Arkhano Hocheli-ngo Amiche pama
Men of old Arkha (by) Hocheli and Amiche they two

atazü hapu-poveke-keghenguno, puthouno Arkhano
brothers had driven to flee-because of by night Arkha

züakelono Arkha 'kilo ami süpuzü
while continued to sleep Arkha's house to fire having applied

Arkha piti-kheveniye pamano ami kulake.
Arkha for burning to death they two fire obtained-by-asking.

[1] Yezami. Hocheli and Amiche went eventually to Sotoemi.

Ami kulaäkelono, Arkhano züida ithou
Fire while obtaining (by asking) Arkha from sleep rise
ale shike, "Oïshehe!" i pipuzü, "O Amiche! O
song made "Woe is me" this having said "O Amiche O
Hocheliye! Anicheno ni-pfu[1] ku*kh*omino
Hocheli while remaining my village rivals
haye[2] apfu mukho ani" ti pi ale shiagheke.
in not being village cold is" this say song do remained.
Tighenguno kimieye pamano "Ni kumsu
For this reason in pitying they two (of) us thought
luchekemi," i pipuzü ami sütsümoive
one-who continues to take this having said fire did not apply
pike.
said.

[1] *Ni-pfu* rather archaic; the ordinary form would be *ipfu*.

[2] *Haye* also archaic and now only in songs. In common speech *kaha-no* or *kahakeno* or perhaps *kahaye* would be used.

XXI.

MUCHÜPILE.

There is a story of olden time which we Semas have. It is the story of Muchüpile of old. A man had married a pretty girl. Muchüpile caused her death. Muchüpile loved the man and lived with him. From the girl's body, thrown out in the forest, a bamboo shoot sprang up. When the top was picked and boiled it kept gurgling "*Muchüpile pfo pfo.*"[1] As it bubbled "Muchüpile" she threw away the potful. After that (the bamboo shoot) became an orange[2] tree. At the top of the orange-tree was one beautiful fruit. The husband, saying "It reminds me of my former wife," plucked it and put it away in a basket. When her husband had gone to the fields, she came out of the basket and did the house-work. And when her husband was coming (home) she used to go back again into the basket. Both Muchüpile and her husband said, "Who always gets the

work done like this ? I would give him to eat though there were nothing left for myself."[3] One day her husband, having said that he was going to the fields, came back, hid, and watched. He caught her. "Where have you come from ?" said he. "We two were (happy) together before" (she answered) "Muchüpile killed me and threw (my body) into the forest. After that I became a bamboo shoot. She picked and cooked me and having cooked me threw me away. Next I became an orange tree, and when you gathered me and put me in the basket I regained my human form." Thereon her husband became wroth, killed Muchüpile and threw her body away, for when Muchüpile came back from the fields she said, "Help me off with my load," and her husband went and cut her down and threw her away. He and his former wife lived together. Both of them in coming and going touched Muchüpile's bones. For this cause their limbs swelled and they died.[5]

The "lived happily ever after" ending is conspicuous by its absence in Naga stories. There are several versions of the ending of this story, none of them satisfactory from a sentimental point of view. *Cf.* Angami Monograph, Part V, "Hunchibili."

Kaghelomi ni Simi atsa laki anike. Kaghe Muchüpile
Men of old we Semas story one is. Formerly Muchüpile
'tsa anike. Kepatimi lakiye totimi akivi luake.
story is. Male man one woman good married.
Muchüpileno totimi tiuvepiyeke. Muchüpileno tiyepa
Muchüpile woman caused to die. Muchüpile that man
allo awuveke. Totimi hekipfe aghalono
good associated with. Woman killed thrown in jungle
akutu epegheke. Akutu soh-lhokeloye
bamboo-shoot came out. Bamboo shoot pluck-boiled when
"Muchüpile pfo pfo"[1] mukhoake ! "Muchüpile"
Muchüpile pfo pfo continued gurgling. Muchüpile
mukhoakeaye kulholi
when continued to keep gurgling pot of comestible

pheveke. Kutoughi mishitibo[2] shike. Mishitibolono
threw away. After that orange-tree did. On the orange tree
akeolo akhati laki akivi akimino "Kaghe i-nipfu toi"
at top fruit one good husband "formerly my wife like"
pino *kh*osohno akholo paake. Mishitino
having said having gathered in basket put-kept. The orange
timi shiuveke. Pa 'kimono alulo huveaye
human became. Her husband to field when was going down
akholono epegheno akilo akumla shike. Eno pa
from basket having emerged in house work did and her
'kimi egheaye kutoughi akholo
husband when was coming after that into basket
ilovecheke. Muchüpile-ngo pa 'kimi pamaye "Kuno
always entered. Muchüpile and her husband both "Who
ishi akumla shitsüchenike la? Niye chumomu
thus work always gets done eh I although not eat
pa tsü pike.[3] Aghlo lakiye pa 'kimino alulo huni
to him give said day one on her husband to field will go
pipuzüno ileo mekheake; Pano ituluke; "Noye
having said return hid watched He caught "You
kilehino egheke?" pike. "Kaghe ikuzho acheke.
whence came" said. "Formerly we two lived together
Muchüpileno i-hekhipfe aghalo pheveke. Tilehino
Muchüpile we killed in jungle threw. Then
akutu shike; soh-lho lhopuzüno pheveke.
bamboo-shoot made pluck boil having boiled threw away
Tilehino mishitibo shi; nono i-*kh*opfe akholo
Then orange-tree did you me gather in basket
pavekelo, niye timi shike." Tilehino pa 'kimino
in keeping I human did." Then her husband
kuloghuke; Muchüpile hekhipfe pheveke. Muchüpile
was angry Muchüpile killed threw away. Muchüpile
alulo egheno "I-khoh pfekhitsülo!" pike; pa
from field having come my load pick up give said her
'kimino wuvepuzuno pa ghükhu pheveke.
husband having gone her cut down threw away.

Kaghe-nipfu pama ake. Pamano hulao-hilao
Former wife they two remained. Both this way that way

wuveaye Muchüpile asaghüno pama khuke.
in continuing to go Muchüpile bones both touched.

Tighenguno api-aou[4] inguno tiuveke.[5]
Therefore limbs having swelled died.

[1] "*Pfo pfo*" represents the sound made by the bubbling water, which also kept repeating Muchüpile's name. In the Lhota version the water says "Hunchibili la-la, la-la, Hunchibili la-la, la-la," according to the lady's name in that version.

[2] *Mishiti* also = "lime" or "lemon," being generic. There is only one Sema village in the Sema country where oranges grow, but the Lhota version gives the fruit as an orange. The Khasis have a similar story in which a girl comes out of an orange to do the house-work. For the same *motif* in a Kachari story see Soppitt, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

[3] There is a break in the Sema construction. The sentence starts by giving the words of Muchüpile and her husband *in oratio recta* and ends with *pa tsü pike*, an oblique construction, instead of *pa tsüni pike*.

[4] *Api-aou* means the body with all the limbs; *cf.* the expression *api-ampiu* for the whole body. *Aou* = "hand" or "arm."

[5] They would be liable to swell up and die as a result of the husband's touching again the bones of a person he had killed, apart from any power the contact might have of enabling Muchüpile's ill-will to affect the objects of it directly.

XXII.

THE TWINS' HUNTING.

We Semas have a story of old. Once upon a time there was a man and his wife. Before their child was born[1] a tiger carried off the father. After that twin sons were born. They asked their mother, "Where is our father?" Their mother said to them, "Your father was carried off by a tiger." Thereon the two brothers took some cold lunch,[2] went into the jungle, and followed up the tiger's tracks.

[1] *Punu-mo-philono*, literally "in the reckoning before birth," *i.e.*, during pregnancy.

[2] *Alhe* is the cold rice (and curry or other comestible) cooked beforehand and taken to the fields or on the march to eat in the middle of the day.

They found him. Then they got up into a tree and threw their spears at the tiger and killed him. But when they had done so the two of them ran away, and for this reason tigers still exist, they say. And moreover, since after this the pair sang the *Aphi*[1] dancing song, we Semas still sing the *Aphi* song.

Kaghelomi ni Simi atsa laki anike. Kaghe akimi
Men of old we Semas story a is. Formerly husband

anipfu ake. Anu punu-mo-philono apu angshuno
wife were. Child born not reckoning in father tiger

tsuveke. Tipa-thiuno kepatimi mi kini punuke.
devoured. That after male men two were born.

Aza-vilo "I-pu kilao ake la?" ti pike. Azano
Mother to "My father where is eh" this said. Mother

pamavilo ti pike "O-puye angshuno tsuveke."
to both this said "Your father tiger (by) devoured."

Tilehino pama atazüno alhe shipuzü aghalo
Then both brothers cold food having made into jungle

wupuzüno angshu 'nyepa zhuwuke; ituluke.
having gone tiger track see went found.

Tilehino asülo ikupuzüno angshu khuke.
Then in tree having got up tiger threw-spear-at.

Tilehino pamano angshu hekhikhavepuzüno kinino
Then both tiger having completely killed the two

poveke-ghenguno hishi angshu acheni pike. Eno
fled because of thus tiger still exist said and

ipuzüno pamano aphile ghi pikeghenguno, ni Simino
after this both *Aphi* song too said because of we Semas

aphile pichenike.
Aphi song keep saying.

[1] The *aphi-le* is sung at the dancing which follows the slaughter of mithan in ceremonies performed for the erection of *aghüza*, *cf.* pp. 115, 227.

SONGS.

The songs which follow are fairly typical of Sema songs in general. Examples are given of *Lezu'le*—songs sung in the house, e.g., at a feast, and of *Alu'kumla'le*—songs sung while at work in the fields. The fact that a song belongs to one of these classes does not prevent its being sung on other occasions; e.g., a *Lezu'le* might be sung in the fields, *Alu'kumla'le* are often sung in the house. The difference seems to be based on the music, the latter class being much easier to sing and therefore better suited to singing while at work. Probably, too, the tunes belong traditionally to one class or another.

As will be gathered from the footnotes to the songs, the language used in songs is often archaic, and sometimes the meaning has been entirely forgotten. Where it is remembered the meaning of the song as a whole is often obscure, as the composer of a song uses disconnected words which mean much to him but convey little to those who cannot follow his thought and do not know to what he is alluding.

Even newly-composed songs often need their composer to explain exactly what it is all about, and trying to translate them with the aid of someone who does not happen to know is rather like trying to disentangle a difficult chorus of Aeschylus.

Of the songs given here the first is an example of a stereotyped form already described in which the song has been reduced to a mere formula. Both it and the second *Lezu'le* which follows are of recent composition. The third, an *Alu'kumla'le*, is old and nearly forgotten, and the fourth, though the words are well known, is obscure in places, as the circumstances to which it alludes are entirely forgotten. Both the *Alu'kumla'le* given here go to the same tune. No attempt has been made to render in English the meaningless syllables necessitated by the singing (*iho*, *uno*, *u*, etc.), which have no more meaning than "Tra-la-la" or "Hey-nonni-no."

Songs are ordinarily referred to by their first line.

I.

Inato-no Likelio (*Lezu'le*).

Inato killed and brought back the head of a girl of Liké.[1] Vikeshe[2] put her hair in his ear, put the Liké girl's hair in his ear. Khakuli[3] made glad. Khakuli made glad.

O Inato-no Likelio ipfughe
Inato girl of Liké killed and took the head
iho, iho, iho, i.
O Vikeshe asa li-kyeghe
Vikeshe hair put-in-his-ear
iho, iho, iho, i.
O li-kyeghe, Likeli 'sa likyeghe
put-in-his-ear, the Liké girl's hair put-in-his-ear
iho, iho, iho, i.
O Khakuli allove
Khakuli made glad
iho, iho, iho, i.
O Khakuli allove-o
Khakuli made glad
iho, iho, iho, i
iho, iho, iho.

II.

A song of the Kuki war (*Lezu'le*).

Kekheche, my father, Kekheche, my father, when you go to raid, when you go to raid in the country of the Kukis, in the country of the Kukis, take heed lest you be wounded.

Ere anyone else pluck a Kuki flower, pluck and take a Kuki flower.

[1] Likemi—the men of the village of Liké, *i.e.*, the Ao village of Lungkhung, better known as "Nankam." Inato did not really ever kill a Nankam girl, though he did take the head of a Chang warrior at Tuensang ("Mozungjami").

[2] Vikeshe was the son of Inato's elder brother.

[3] Khakuli was Inato's wife. Not his first wife, who was one of his father's widows, but a later one, and the only one who bore him a child,

Kukimi[1] *Lakuhu 'Le.*

I hoi
I-pu Kekheche[2] I-pu Kekheche ihoi ihoi
My father Kekheche My father Kekheche
Kukimi lao-o— iho Kukimi lao-o iho
Kuki side (towards) Kuki side
I hoi ihoi
Lakuhu-lono lakuhu-lono ihoi ihoi
When going on the war path when going on the war path
Uno zaniüku u kutolo u-o-iho
mishap beware
Ihoi ihoi
Akhamunu[3] u kütami u khomoye
Flower another while not plucking
Akhamunu u Kukimi u kholuye[4]
Flower Kuki pluck and take
Ihoi ihoi.

III.

Ishi no ghi sholu (*Alu'kumla'le*).

(A girl addresses her lover.)

To-day we have met again. To-day I am adorned as a damsel[5] should be. When not adorned they looked upon one another, Hocheli[6] and a man,[7] a man of some other

[1] *Kukimi.* The Semas usually use *Kotsomi*, borrowed from the Angami word for Kuki, "Kotsoma," which is probably derived from the Manipuri word "Khonjai," but some have adopted our word Kuki and given it a Sema form.

[2] Kekheche was a Sema interpreter who went in charge of coolies with one of the columns that operated from the Naga Hills against the rebel Kukis in 1918.

[3] Plucking a flower is a metaphor for killing an enemy.

[4] Not the ordinary imperative form, but really a participle.

[5] *Akheono timi* is used, in singing only, to mean a girl who is of marriageable age. *Akheo* is a person of either sex who is of marriageable age but is still unmarried.

[6] *Hocheli*, here a woman's name, is the girl who is speaking.

[7] The man who is addressed. She is being provocative; she could not look on a man of her own clan with anything but indifference.

clan—of my own clan (I forget which). At the elder's words of rebuke[1] I was troubled O my father ! [2]

O. o. o. o

Ishi no ghi sholu
To-day you too met

O. o. o. o

Ishi akheono timi kiye [3] yepfu
To-day damsel like adorned

O. o. o. o

Yepfumoye hoche
When not adorned looked upon

O. o. o. o

Hocheli ngo timi
Hocheli and a man

O. o. o. o

Timiyelo niyelo
Of other man's clan of my clan

[1] *Asüghakuwo.* The real meaning is very doubtful. No one seemed able to say for certain, and it might be *approbation* or it might be *rebuke.* It seems to be a forgotten word which has only survived in this song. This song itself had almost been forgotten, and there were only a few who knew it all when I took it down from a man of Sheyepu. I obtained another version from a man of Moemi which I give below, but the meaning has been long forgotten, and as only a word or two here and there is intelligible even to the singers, I attempt no translation. It apparently introduces Hocheli (Hokali) and her father, and is also a song of the Zumomi clan, so that it probably has the same origin as the version already given.

Ishi no ghi sholu
Akheono timi kiye yepfu
Hokali pa'puno
Kunokughü
Akukhuno ni 'ghami
Mayeghü laye
ikapapu sikipe
nacheluye
awudu nü
lakeke pukecheshia
ini suluye.

[2] *I-shiapuno* apparently merely singing for *i-pu,* "my father," perhaps lit.= "the one who treats me as a father does."

[3] *Kiye* only used in this sense in singing.

O. o. o. o
Akechimi 'tsa na
Elders' words by
O. o. o. o
Asüghakuwo' min'losiye
(?) of rebuke I was sorry
O. o. o. o
Ishiapuno hei
O my father
O. o. o. o
O. o. o. o O. o. o. o.

IV.

Ateëlao Shimonaye (Alu'kumla'le).

(A man soliloquises.)

Though I wish not to grow old, while I say it it has befallen indeed. My suns are counted, my tale of years [1] is growing full. I have begun to pass away. When going down to Thoilalapi[2] there were damsels such as wear bracelets on their wrists. The night before last when going on the path, when going to look upon my beloved, as I was arriving I saw a stranger [3] girl's mother and was troubled thereat.

The moon rose and made bright the sward [4] before my house. (On one side they said) "I am one who sleeps in

[1] *Siyepi* is really "reckoning of jhums," the method by which count of years is kept being by recalling the land freshly cut in each year. The ordinary method is to take the land last cleared, name and count the lands cleared before it backwards until the land first named again recurs, and then to count how many times one can remember that clearing of that land and multiply the number of years in the cycle by the number of times that the clearing of the particular land taken can be remembered. This, of course, is far from accurate, as the cycle of jhums cleared is apt to contract or expand in accordance as the population of the village grows or decreases, the difference being often very considerable.

[2] *Thoilalapi* is the name of a field.

[3] *Ina, i.e.*, from another village.

[4] In front of every house is a piece of flat ground cleared and levelled. I have used "sward" as the nearest English word, but no grass grows on it.

Laza's house "[1]; (on the other side they cried) "I am one who sleeps in Ahota's house." The young men who sleep in other houses when they go to war, when they cross over the hill-top,[2] those men who sleep in other houses, they are such as meet with misadventure and are troubled thereat.

O. o. o. o

Ateëlao shimonaye
Elderly not wishing to become

O. o. o. o

Piaye eghu kucho
while saying come true

O. o. o. o

Atsala pio
suns are counted

O. o. o. o

Siyepi wo-chayeo
tale of jhums has become full

O. o. o. o

Iloencheaye
I in beginning to pass

O. o. o. o

Thoilalapi lakhohulo-na
Thoilalapi while going down the road of

O. o. o. o

Lozhitimi ulo
young girls on hand

O. o. o. o

Kumlapfu m'chekolumi
brass bracelet one who is seen wearing

[1] The young men sleep in the front part of the house of the chief or any other rich man. The allusion seems to be to a faction fight between two of these dormitories. The sequence of thought is obscure, and the circumstances of the composition of the song forgotten, but apparently the composer laments that when he went forth for dalliance he met with strangers instead of his beloved, and then got mixed up in a squabble between two sets of young bucks, for which he was not in the mood, leading him to dismiss the subject with a contemptuous estimate of all the bucks except his own set; altogether a disgruntled songster.

[2] *Aghothu*—"a boundary"—here used in what was probably its original sense of the top of a range of hills.

O. o. o. o

kazhe ala chelo
night before last road in going

O. o. o. o

'Lozhilio ohowunaye
Beloved when going to look upon

O. o. o. o

Cheloghiyono
when arriving

O. o. o. o

Ina 'lio pa 'zanana
Stranger girl her mother

O. o. o. o

Ituliye allomoghani
when seeing was troubled

O. o. o. o

Akhino epen'ke akah veloaye
moon (-by) came out level in lighting up

O. o. o. o

Isheni Laza kipfumi
I am one who sleeps in Laza's house

O. o. o. o

Isheni Ahota kipfumi
I am one who sleeps in Ahota's house

O. o. o. o

Timi kipfumina
The younger men who sleep in the houses of others

O. o. o. o

Aghoha shilo
when they go to make war

O. o. o. o

Aghotu kapelonikechelono
the range when crossing over

O. o. o. o

Timi kipfumina
The young men who sleep in the houses of others

O. o. o. o

Akesa sho-mulekinimi
evil meet and be troubled men

O. o. o. o

O. o. o. o O. o. o. o.

V.

Lezu'le (composed in France by Sema labourers).

O you young bloods go and search for Shiyihe, mine elder brother, and you colleens for darling Losheli his sweetheart. Tell what he went forth to do ; tell (her) that he went forth to pluck a flower ; tell (her) that he went forth to pluck a flower, a flower of the Germans he went to pluck, went forth to pluck and take. In going, in going fare thee well.

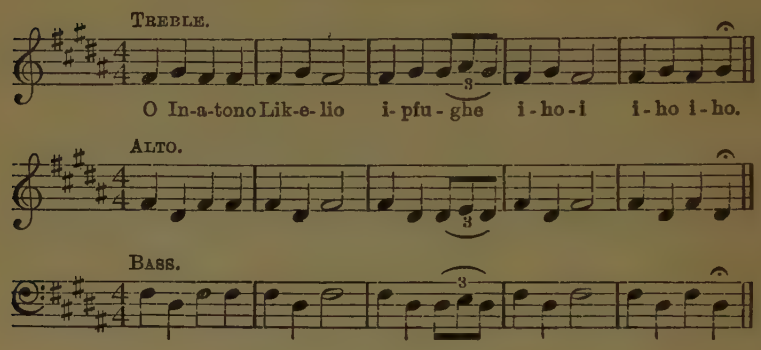
Hiyelo ashopumino imu Shiyihe
young bucks my elder brother Shiyihe
Hiyelo asholimino[1]
Hiyelo anga[2] Losheli 'llomi hiwulo
Losheli lover go seek
Hiyelo ku shiwuniye chenike pilo
what to do went say
Hiyelo akhamunu *kh*owuniye chenike pilo
flower to pluck went say
Hiyelo 'khamunu *kh*owuniye chenike pilo
flower to pluck went say
Hiyelo Jermalimi
Germans
Hiyelo *kh*owunike
to pluck
Hiyelo *kh*oluniye chenike
to pluck and take went
Gwolo-gwolono ilili gwolo.
in going-in going well go.

[1] *Asholimi* is a difficult word to translate. It is the feminine equivalent of *ashopumi*, the nearest translation of which is the public-school expression a "blood." Perhaps "peach" would render *asholimi* better than any other expression.

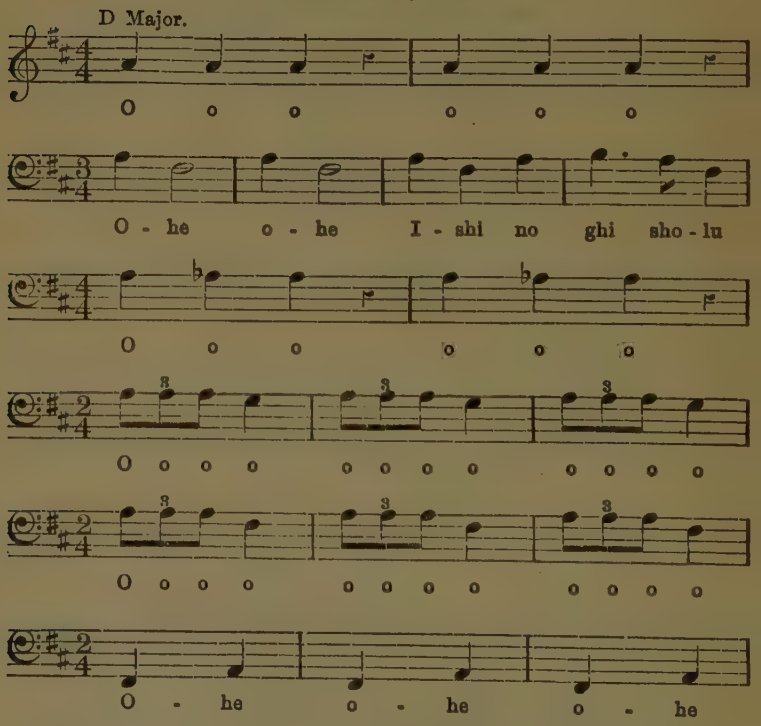
[2] *Anga* usually = an infant. It is also used for the pupil of the eye (no doubt its original meaning), and here apparently as a term of endearment. *Cf.* the Greek use of *κόρη*.

NOTE.—As an example of Sema music I give the notation of two songs (No. I and No. III), showing as nearly as possible the different parts, which are sung simultaneously (see p. 114), as sung in Kiyeshe village.

I.—*O Inato-no.*



III.—*Ishi no ghi sholu.*



No. IV is sung to the same tune as No. III. I am indebted to my wife for recording both the above tunes.

APPENDICES

I. Bibliography.

II. Sema Migrations and Affinities.

III. Reciprocal Table of the Names of Relations.

IV. Extract from a Letter on the Subject of the Relations between a Sema Chief and his Dependants.

V. The Semas and Mr. Perry's "Megalithic Culture of Indonesia."

VI. Sema Vocabularies.

VII. Glossary.

APPENDIX I

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INFORMATION AS REGARDS SEMA NAGA TRIBE

1. "Gazetteer of the Naga Hills and Manipur" ; containing some geographical information and historical details of British occupation.

2. Assam Census Reports of 1891 and 1911 ; containing a little general information.

3. Col. L. A. Waddell, "Tribes of the Brahmaputra Valley," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Part 3, No. 1, of 1900 ; containing a note on the "*Süma*" tribe which is meagre and quite inaccurate. The Semas have never worn a "flap of wood" by way of a garment, and the unmarried girls do not sleep in separate houses.

4. Miss G. M. Godden, "Naga and Other Tribes of N.E. India," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. xxvi ; containing a *résumé* of information collected from other sources, with very little regarding the Semas in particular, and that by no means always accurate.

5. W. H. Furness, "Ethnography of the Nagas of Eastern Assam," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* for 1902, vol. xxxii, July to December ; containing little as to the Semas, and making one bad mistake in confusing the Konyaks of Chima with the Sema tribe—a mistake probably due to an Assamese interpreter, as English-speaking Assamese often speak of the people of Chima or Sima as "Semas," the resemblance of the two words being entirely fortuitous.

6. J. H. Hutton, "The Angami Nagas" (Macmillan, 1921) contains a few notes on the Sema tribe in particular, and a bibliography of the books relating to the various Naga tribes of the Naga Hills District.

7. J. H. Hutton, "Leopard-men of the Naga Hills," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1920. Deals with lycanthropy.

N.B.—Authorities for the Sema tongue, such as there are, have been mentioned in Part V when dealing with the language.

For definitely Bodo tribes in Assam the following may be referred to :—

(*a*) Major A. Playfair, "The Garos" (Nutt, 1909).

(*b*) C. A. Soppitt, "Historical and Descriptive Account of the Kachari Tribes in the North Cachar Hills" (Shillong, 1885). Reprinted, with an Introduction by E. C. Stuart Baker, in 1901.

(*c*) Rev. S. Endle, "The Kacharis" (Macmillan, 1911).

(*d*) W. C. M. Dundas, "Outline Grammar and Dictionary of the Kachari (Dimasa) Language" (Shillong, 1908).

(*e*) J. D. Anderson, "Kachari Folk-tales and Rhymes" (Shillong, 1895).

For Burma tribes mentioned the authority consulted is the "Gazetteer of Upper Burmah and the Shan States." Part I. Rangoon, 1900.

APPENDIX II

SEMA MIGRATIONS AND AFFINITIES

THE accompanying chart shows the migrations of the Sema tribe. North of the line of, say, Cheshalimi the chart is not only approximately correct but approximately complete. South of Cheshalimi the chart is probably correct as far as it goes, but in this area, in which the settlements that remain are of longer standing than in the north of the Sema country, there have probably been many movements that have been forgotten. Thus there is no information to account adequately for the curious case of the village of Swemi near Khezabama, a genuine Sema village left surrounded by Angamis. The village of Khezakenoma has been shown as a Sema settlement. It is possible that the tradition which tells of the ancestor of the Semas having come from that village is merely connected with the present village of Khezakenoma owing to that village being able to point to a stone as the actual stone spoken of in the legend on which the paddy set to dry doubled itself by nightfall. No doubt this story is much older than the cracked dolmen exhibited by Khezakenoma. At the same time the linguistic connection between the Khezami Angamis and the Semas is close enough to warrant the assumption that they have at some time in the past been more intimately connected than they are now.

The origin of the legendary connection with the mountain of Tukahu (Japvo) is obvious enough. Any Sema almost who wished to indicate the south as the direction from which his ancestors came could most easily do so by pointing to the highest peak in the Barail range and saying " We came from near there." This would be particularly the case

with Semas settled up the Dayang Valley, which is dominated for a long way by Japvo (?*Dzüpfü* = "Mother of waters"), where the river has its source.

The probable location of the tribe before it reached its known habitations and sojourning places in the Naga Hills district has been shown as the country of the Khoirao tribe in the Manipur State. This tribe is a small one wedged in between the quasi-Angamis of Maram[1] to the west, the Tangkhuls to the north and east, and Kacha Nagas and Kukis to the south. The Khoirao tribe's villages, few in number, speak dialects which vary acutely, and the villages near Maram such as Purun and Khoite (I give them the names by which they are known in the Manipur State) have clearly close affinities to Maram and probably a very large admixture of Angami blood. Their culture is very much closer to Angami culture than to Sema. Further north, however, in Khongde and Raime, this is less marked, and in the little village of Ngari, which again speaks its own dialect, the affinity to the Sema tribe is most pronounced. This is the case with both the speech and the physiognomy of the people. It struck me most forcibly as soon as I saw the headmen of the village, and the appearance of their fellow villagers, made the more obvious in some by a similar method of hair-dressing, confirmed it; as did also their speech and vocabulary. And this though I had gone to Ngari—the first Khoirao village I went to—without any idea of such a thing in my mind and without even knowing the name of the tribe that inhabited the village. I had expected to find Tangkhuls there.

Ngari is the most northerly village of the Khoirao tribe, and somewhat to the north of it comes the Tangkhul village of Chingjăroi, known to the Angamis as "Swemi," though this name appears to be unknown in the village or its immediate locality. A name like this is not without significance, and it may be fairly assumed that this village was also at one time occupied by the Sema tribe, and hence was given this name by the Angamis that traded with it. Indeed

[1] The people of Maram use the first personal possessive *i-* of the Semas, at any rate with the names of relations, *e.g.*, *i-po* = "my father."

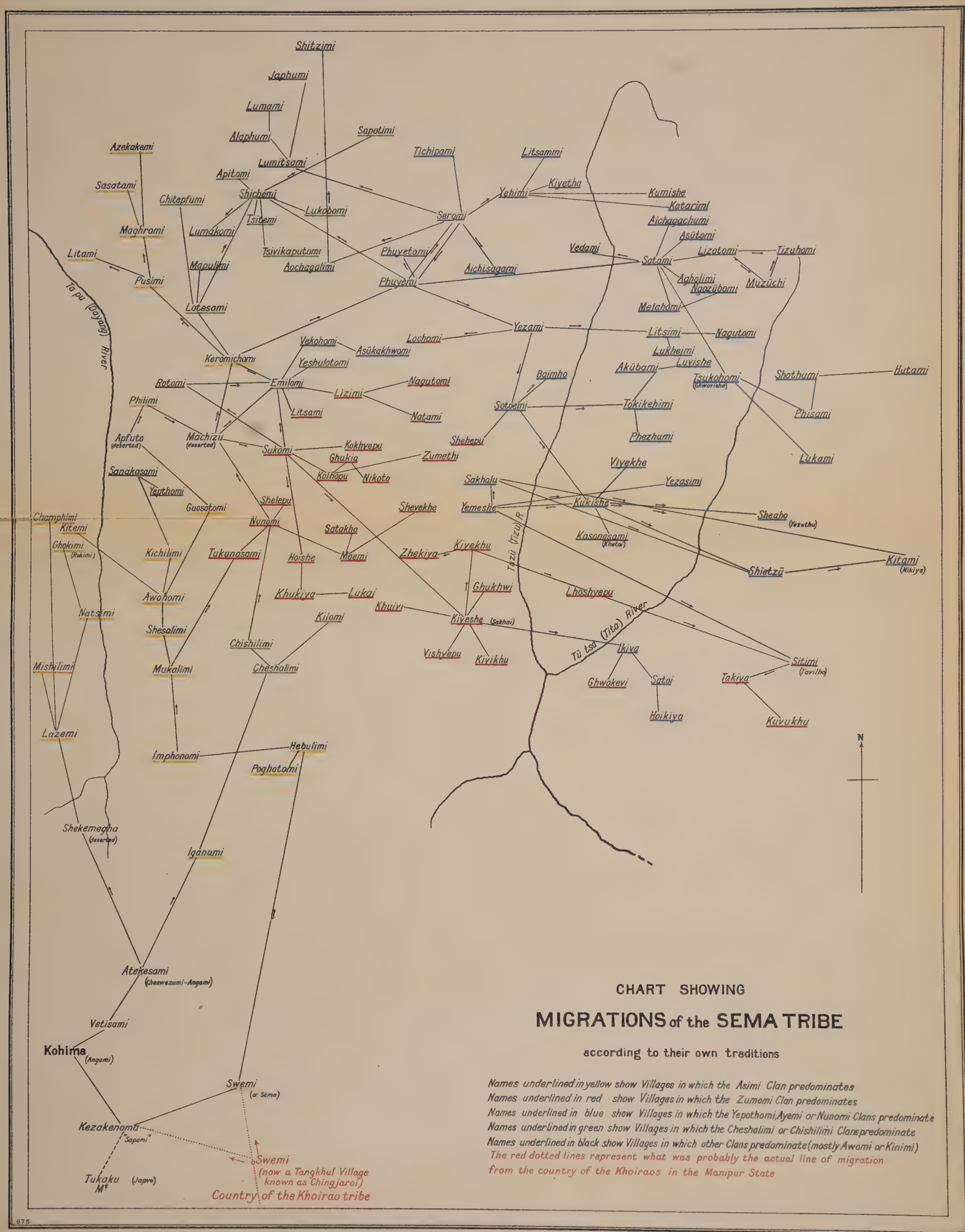


CHART SHOWING

MIGRATIONS of the SEMA TRIBE

according to their own traditions

Names underlined in yellow show Villages in which the Asimi Clan predominates
Names underlined in red show Villages in which the Zumomi Clan predominates
Names underlined in blue show Villages in which the Yepothomi, Ayemi or Nunomi Clans predominate
Names underlined in green show Villages in which the Cheshalimi or Chishilimi Clans predominate
Names underlined in black show Villages in which other Clans predominate (mostly Awomi or Kinimi)
The red dotted lines represent what was probably the actual line of migration from the country of the Khoiraos in the Manipur State

675

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it is very likely that it was actually the village or the site from which the Semas of Swemi (which is, of course, the same word as Sema, Semi, Sümi, or Simi) near Khezabama migrated to that place. But however that may be, one may fairly assume, in view of the obvious Sema affinities in Ngari, that Swemi (Chingjaroi) is another stage southwards in the migrations of the Sema tribe.

The language of Ngari is probably nowhere recorded. The Khoirao recorded by Sir George Grierson in the linguistic survey of India is probably that of another Khoirao village, and the dialect of these villages varies enormously. Of several through which I passed I found only Ngari which retained that very marked Sema characteristic the initial *a-* for nouns. In Ngari, too, the Sema physiognomy was more marked than in Khoite, though the latter have a truly Sema propensity for snapping up unconsidered trifles. I give, at the end of this Appendix, a parallel table of a few words used in Ngari and their Sema equivalents. Unfortunately, I only had a very short time in Ngari itself, and was unable to revisit the village, but I am convinced that in the descent of its inhabitants the ancestors of the Sema tribe are well represented. It may be noted that they mark the performance of certain gennas by the erection of a tree in a manner very similar to the *Aghüza* or *Akedu*.

It is also curious that one should find in Khoirao villages clans of the same name as Sema clans. Thus I learn from Colonel Shakespear that there are in Khoite clans called *Chonamei* and *Kinamei*, in Meheme (" Purul ") *Kunamei* (*cf.* Sema *Chunimi* and *Kinimi*), while the head of the clan, though in some clans called *Viyeh* (? " the good one "), is in the others called *Sume*, Viyeh and Sume having been the names of the two brothers, elder and younger respectively, from whom the clans claim descent. The Viyeh or Sume gets a leg of every animal killed by his people whether wild or tame, very much like a Sema chief. The Khoiraos of Purun trace their more immediate origin to Mekrima (Maikel) like the Angamis, but their ultimate origin to two gods, Lappo and his wife Raru, who came from a place or

a god called Deamo [1] in the west, "where the western sky meets the earth," and the spirits of the dead go west to a hill called Kapura, the locality of which is unknown.

The chart of the Sema migrations omits certain villages to the west, near the plains, which have been planted out artificially by the Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills or the Sub-divisional Officer of Mokokchung to relieve pressure of population in parts of the Sema country. As these villages are not the result of natural migrations in any degree, they have not been shown in the chart, though some have been marked in the map of the Naga tribes which accompanies the monograph on the Angamis. These villages—there are five or six—are too far west to appear in the map of the Semas and their neighbours published in this volume.

The Khoiraos of Purun place their origin in the west, and though this may refer to some place as far west merely as Mekrima (Maikel), it is to be noticed that there are marked similarities between the Semas and some of the Bodo tribes to be found in other parts of Assam. The paper referred to in Appendix I, No. 7, dealt with the question of lycanthropy and tiger clans.[2] It also mentioned the Y-shaped posts which the Garo uses, as does the Sema,[3] and which the Kachari apparently used to erect in stone, to judge from the carved stones of similar shape still to be seen at Dimapur. There are also certain linguistic affinities to be traced between Sema, Kachāri, and Garo (see note at end of this Appendix), while some similarity seems to obtain between Semas and Garos in the matter of their views on female chastity, which are noticeably strict as compared with those of their neighbours. A few similar resemblances may also perhaps be traced between the Semas and the Karen

[1] Deamo ?=Dīma (*doima*), the river Dima or Dhansiri, the home of the Dimasa (Kacharis), whose capital was Dimapur.

[2] Apropos of the Zumomi story of the descent of their ancestor from a squirrel, it is worth noting that the Kacharis have a definite squirrel clan (Endle, "The Kacharis," p. 27).

[3] Also the Wa of Burma ("Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States," Part I, vol. i, p. 505) and the Khawtlang clan of Kukis.

tribes known in Burma as the Manö and the Southern Brè, who, like the Semas,[1] reap their rice by stripping the ears by hand into a basket instead of using a reaping hook. The identity of the name given by Kacharis and Semas to their Creator has been already pointed out; also the common use by the Sema and the Kacha Naga of a certain type of stone circle to commemorate rich men, the only memorial made with stones by Semas. Hill Kacharis allow Kacha Nagas to eat in their houses on the ground of relationship, admitting that they and the Nagas are descended from the elder and younger of two brothers respectively. Kukis they will not allow to enter their houses on the ground that they are strangers entirely.

My general conclusion is that the Semas are a composite tribe containing a larger proportion of Mongolian and Bodo blood from the direction of the north or north-west than their Angami neighbours. There have been immigrations into Assam from the north, whence came the Singphos, Kacharis, and the Garos; from China or the north-east, whence came the Shan and the Tai races generally (the Tamans of the upper Chindwin Valley in Burma clearly came across the Irawadi from China and for a time lived in the hills between the plains of Burma and Assam before they went back again to their present location in Burma); and from the south, whence came apparently the people of Maram, the Angamis and the Kuki tribes (though, of course, these later migrations may well have come from the east and perhaps the north-east originally, subsequently turning north again). One would therefore expect to find a considerable variety of culture in the Naga tribes, though indeed this is clearly the case with Indonesia generally, and it is undoubtedly not merely coincidence that we find a system of terraced cultivation in the Philippines, for instance, identical with that of the Angami Nagas combined with what seems to be a very similar village polity. Many other points of contact arise between Naga tribes and such peoples as the Dusun of

[1] So, too, the Garos (Playfair, *op. cit.*, p. 34), Bhois, and Lynngam (Gurdon, "The Khasis," p. 40, 2nd ed.).

British North Borneo, or the Toradjas of the Celebes,[1] whose beliefs with regard to the soul seem to be very much the same as those of the Semas. If the Semas be in the main of a northern stock, like the Kacharis, they have certainly absorbed much of the culture of the immigrants from the south, represented by the Angamis, who in their turn must, of course, have absorbed much of the north-western stock. It was possibly under the influence of the immigration from the south that the former immigrants from the north-west changed to a patrilineal system from the matrilineal system still adhered to by the Garos.

NOTE.—The Garo numerals are at least as near those of the Khoiraos as the Sema, and the Garos came from north of the Brahmaputra, so it may be that the Khoiraos and Semas contain an element of some common stock which, having come south, turned eastwards, thus accounting for the Khoirao account of the western origin; the Sema account of a southern origin would not be affected, as it only refers to Japvo and the country in the neighbourhood of the present location of the Khoiraos, whence it is virtually certain that the progenitors of the Sema tribe migrated to the present Sema country.

List of numerals, etc., as found in Khoirao, Sema, Kachari (Dimasa), and Garo :—

	Khoirao				
English	(*of Khongde*)	(*of Ngari*)	*Sema*	*Kachari*	*Garo*
one	*keshi*	*kese*	*laki, khe*	*se*	*sa*
two	*kini*	*kini*	*kini*	*kini*	*gni*
three	*kuthom*	*kuthom*	*kuthu*	*ketham*	*gitam*
four	*bizhi*	*bizhi*	*bidhi*	*biri*	*bri*
five	*pongo*	*pongo*	*pongu*	*ponga*	*bonga*
six	*surok*	*tsughok*	*tsoghoh*	*doh*	*dok*
seven	*thoni*	*thoni*	*tsini*	*shini*	*sni*
eight	*silat*		*thache*	*chai*	*chet*

[1] It has already been pointed out that the Sema story of the interchange of functions between the sun and moon is reported also from Mexico. A comparison of the Kachari legend of the re-creation of the earth after the Flood (Soppitt, *op. cit.*, p. 32) is most decidedly reminiscent of the Algonquin legend so widely distributed in N. America (Frazer, "Folk-Lore in the Old Testament," vol. i, p. 295 *et sqq.*) in which the muskrat brings up grains of earth from below the sea, for the Creator to fashion the land from, as the crabs do in the Kachari story. The Kachari account of the creation of man (Soppitt, *loc. cit.*) is also obviously intimately connected with that given by the Khasis (Frazer, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 18), while the story from the Bila-an of the Philippine Islands of the people who were created with their noses upside down so that they could not go out in the rain (Frazer, *op. cit.*, i, p. 16) is also found in the Naga Hills among Semas, and among the Changs.

English	*Khoirao* (*of Khonyde*)	(*of Ngari*)	*Sema*	*Kachari*	*Garo*
nine	*suku*	*tsuku*	*thuku*	*suku*	*sku*
ten	*sero*	*segho*	*cheghi*	*ji*	*chikung*
twenty	*muku*	*muku*	*muku*	*kwon*	
road		*ala*	*ala*	*lāma*	
house	*du*	*adi*	*aki*		
my father		*ipo*	*ipo*		
Kohima		*Kabu*	*Kabu*		
grandfather			*asü*	*aju*	*achu*
cattle			*amishi*	*musu-ma*	*matchu*

It may also be noticed that the enclitic *-ne*, = "please," is common to Sema and Garo, while the use of the particle *-ve* to indicate past time in the verb seems to be common to the Semas and to the Khoiraos of Ngari.

The Garo list is taken from Col. Playfair's book, the other lists from my own notes.

APPENDIX III

RECIPROCAL TABLE OF THE NAMES OF RELATIONS IN SEMA

N.B.—m.s.= man speaking, w.s.= woman speaking. Sema terms are given in their disjunctive form ; the possessive prefix used in address is *i-* ; this replaces the initial *a-* ; thus from *aza*, "mother," we get *i-za* = "mother," "my mother," *o-za* = "your mother," pa 'za = "his mother."

English.	*Sema.*	*English.*	*Sema.*
1. Father	1. *apu*	1*a*. Son	1*a*. } *anu*.
2. Mother	2. *aza*	2*a*. Daughter	2*a*. }
3. Elder brother (m.s.)	3. } *amu*	3*a*. Younger brother (m.s.)	3*a*. *atükuzu*.
4. Elder brother (w.s.)	4. }	4*a*. Younger sister (m.s.)	4*a*. *achepfu*.
5. Elder sister (m.s.)	5. } *afu*	5*a*. Younger brother (w.s.)	5*a*. *apĕü*.
6. Elder sister (w.s.)	6. }	6*a*. Younger sister (w.s.)	6*a*. *atsünupfu*.
7. Father's brother	7. *apu* (if necessary to specify a man say *i-papa'mu* = "my father his elder brother," etc., but in addressing him will always say *ipu* simply).	7*a*. Brother's child (m.s.)	7*a*. *anu* [=younger brother's child only. An elder brother's child is addressed by personal name. When spoken of *imu'nu* (= "my elder brother's child") is used].
8. Father's brother's wife	8. *aza* or *achi* (according to relative age).	8*a*. Husband's brother's child	8*a*. same as 18.
9. Father's brother's child	9. *amu* (male senior to speaker). *atükuzu* (male junior to speaker). *afu* (female senior to speaker). *achepfu* (female junior to speaker).		

10. Father's sister	10. *ani*.
11. Father's sister's husband ...	11. *achi*.
12. Father's sister's child... ...	12. *atikeshiū* (="come of [our] seed").
13. Mother's brother...	13. *angu*.
14. Mother's brother's wife ...	14. *aza* or *afu* (according to relative age).
15. Mother's brother's child ...	15. *angu* (male), *aza* (female).
16. Mother's sister	16. *aza*.
17. Mother's sister's husband ...	17. *apu* or *amu* (according to relative age).
18. Mother's sister's child ...	18. personal name used or any term for a relation that is used purely as a term of courtesy.
19. Father's father	19. *asū* (lit.="tree," "stock").
20. Father's mother	20. *apuza* } lit.= father's mother, but *cf.* Angami '*putsa*.
21. Mother's father	21. *apuza* }
22. Mother's mother	22. *apuza* }
23. Husband	23. *akimi* (never used in address). A husband addresses his wife by her personal name, but she does not address her husband by his. When she speaks of him in the third person, too, she usually talks of *Pa*, "himself" as one might say.
24. Wife's father	24. *angu*.
25. Wife's mother	25. *ani*.
26. Husband's father	26. *angu*.
27. Husband's mother	27. *ani*.
28. Wife's brother	28. *angu* (*achi* in Eastern villages).
29. Wife's sister...	29. *afu* (or personal name if young compared to speaker).

10*a*. Brother's child (w.s.) ...	10*a*. Personal name used. *Imu'nu* or *itükuzu'nu* may be used in speaking to third persons.
11*a*. Wife's brother's child ...	11*a*. same as 18.
13*a*. Sister's child (m.s.) ...	13*a*. *atikeshiū*.
14*a*. Husband's sister's child	14*a*. same as 18.
16*a*. Sister's child (w.s.) ...	16*a*. } same as 18.
17*a*. Wife's sister's child ...	17*a*. }
19*a*. Son's child (m.s)	19*a*. } *anu*; grandchildren are spoken of collectively as *atilimi* (*ati* = seed).
20*a*. Son's child (w.s.)	20*a*. }
21*a*. Daughter's child (m.s.)...	21*a*. }
22*a*. Daughter's child (w.s.) ...	22*a*. }
23*a*. Wife	23*a*. *anipfu* (never used in address).
24*a*. Daughter's husband (m.s.)	24*a*. } same as 18.
25*a*. Daughter's husband (w.s.)	25*a*. }
26*a*. Son's wife (m.s.)	26*a*. } *amukeshiu*[1] (*anga* = "infant" also used).
27*a*. Son's wife (w.s.)	27*a*. }
28*a*. Sister's husband (m.s.) ...	28*a*. *achi* (elder sister's), *ama* (younger sister's).
29*a*. Sister's husband (w.s.) ...	29*a*. *achi*.

English.	*Sema.*
30. Husband's brother	30. *angu.*
31. Husband's sister	31. *ani.*
32. Wife's sister's husband ...	32. *anipa.*
33. Husband's brother's wife ...	33. *ani* (wife of husband's elder brother. The wife of a husband's younger brother is called by her name or *amukeshiu*,[1] whether she is older (or as old as) or younger than speaker).
34. Son's wife's parents	34. } same as 18.
35. Sister's daughter's husband (m.s.)	35. }

English.	*Sema.*
30*a*. Brother's wife (m.s.) ...	30*a*. *achi* (elder brother's wife), *amukeshiu* (younger brother's wife).
31*a*. Brother's wife (w.s.) ...	31*a*. (elder brother's wife), *achi*; (younger brother's wife), *amukeshiū*.

[1] *Amukeshiu* appears to mean, literally, "one who has made (or become) an elder brother."

APPENDIX IV

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER ON THE SUBJECT OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN A SEMA CHIEF AND HIS DEPENDANTS. THE *boi* (OR *bawi*) SYSTEM REFERRED TO IS THAT WHICH EXISTS AMONG THE LUSHAIS

. . . I KNOW of no independent tribes in regular communication with the administered district to the south of the Phom country which commonly practise any form of genuine slavery, the test of which I should regard as the buying and selling of human beings, and there is no practice in the administered area which even a warped imagination and a distorted mind could regard as such. There are, however, relations between chiefs and their subjects in the Sema country, both administered and independent, which present certain superficial similarities to the *Boi* system in the Lushai Hills . . . A somewhat similar system in a modified form exists in the Chang country, but it will probably be enough to examine in detail the relations existing between the Sema Chief (*Kekami*) and the villager (*Müghemi*), and it is necessary to a proper understanding of this to explain how these relations have arisen . . .

The vast majority of the villages of the Sema tribe have either just emerged from, or are still governed by, migratory conditions, as the tribe has during the last and the present generation grown and extended at a great rate and over a large area, and is yearly extending eastward at the expense of less warlike tribes. It is still the custom, wherever circumstances permit, for the elder sons of a Sema chief to leave the paternal village and make villages of their own. A chief's son taking a colony of this sort is given by his father as many of the households willing to go with him as his

father can spare, and to his nucleus is frequently added a small number of broken men, thieves, debtors and such. It is significant that the real meaning of the word *Müghemi* is "orphan," whence it has been applied in a more general sense to the ordinary villager who adopts the chief as his "father" and protector. Such a community would occupy and hold its village and land by force and in the face of opposition from some previously established and more numerous community. Almost the whole of the present Sema country, at any rate north of Satakha and east of the Tizu, was occupied by Aos and Sangtams, who were driven out during the last and the preceding generations. Under such circumstances the desertion of a single household or a single fighting man is obviously a serious matter. In addition to this, the land occupied by the new village is regarded as belonging not to the community but to the chief, who has led the colony and by whose favour and protection the other members of it accompany him, for the Sema chiefs are on the whole an aristocracy in the literal sense of the word, being (perhaps owing to better feeding) morally, physically, and intellectually the best men of the community.

These conditions have led to the establishment of recognised rights and duties between the chief and his subjects, which are at a stage between patriarchal and quasi-feudal, and which, even in villages where the conditions which gave rise to them no longer exist, are so much in accord with local sentiment that the punishment of their breach is no more regarded as unjust than the punishment, say, of theft.

The system is one of family adoption and of land tenure combined, but its important principle is that the chief himself distributes his land among his villagers, reserving certain portions for his own cultivation, and a recognised right with its corresponding duty has grown up on both sides, so that while the villager [1] is entitled to have land allotted to him by the chief, the chief is likewise entitled to a certain number of days' work in the year from each villager cultivating his land. The number of days' work

[1] That is, from the time he marries.

given varies from five days to in some cases as much as thirty, but is normally from about ten to fifteen days in the year.

In addition to this the chief provides his "orphans" with wives, with food in times of scarcity, and with seed if necessary, as well as general protection, which frequently includes the payment of fines incurred for misdemeanours committed in or against other villages. It is true that the chief usually expects loans and payment of this sort to be paid back, and, in the case of ordinary loans of paddy, with interest, but he does not object to waiting a very long time for repayment, repayment of paddy often being made in the next generation.

On the other hand, the villager pays a form of homage to the chief who protects him, addressing him as "Father," giving him shares of meat killed in hunting or sacrificed at gennas, and being under the obligation of not removing from the chief's village, since this would deprive the chief of the persons who cultivate the land, and impair his prestige and, in the case of an independent chief, his fighting force. The "orphan," in fact, adopts the chief as a father, and the latter inherits the former's property in preference to any male relations who are not on the same footing with regard to him . . .

This system must not, of course, be regarded as inflexibly adhering to one pattern, but has been subjected to modifications effected by the purchase of land by villagers, by the division of a chief's land between brothers at his death, by varying local customs, so that in some cases a man may owe merely nominal homage to the chief and cultivate his own land or that of some other villager, who is himself independent of the chief in all but name, though in most villages all members owe a few days' work to the principal chief, whatever their other relations to him may be.

When a man living in the administered area wishes to leave his village and make his home somewhere else and the chief is unwilling to let him go, he is allowed to go after payment of a small sum to the chief. Cases are treated on their merits, but the usual payment is from Rs.5/- to Rs.15/-,

according to the degree of vassalage in which he stands, Rs.15/- as a general rule being the highest amount at present paid in discharge of all a man's obligations to his chief other than actual debts. When such a person goes to another village he ordinarily places himself under the protection of the chief of that village, who frequently pays for him the sum due to his last chief.

On the whole the "orphan" probably gets . . . the best of the bargain, and it is only some system of this sort which makes life possible to many of the inhabitants of the average Sema village. The poor, the old, the crippled and the mentally deficient turn to their "Father" the chief when they are in need. He helps them as a matter of course, for his reputation is involved, but his only security for payment in the future is that he and they stand in the hereditary relations of "father" and "orphan"; if these relations were abolished, those of the latter unable to maintain themselves would have to starve or steal or be supported by Government. Nor is this the only way in which the system is valuable under present conditions. Cash in the Sema country is a scarce commodity, much of the trade being still carried on by barter, and many persons only handling rupees at the time when they go away from the village to work on the cart-road or elsewhere in order to earn the Rs.2/- which Government requires as house-tax. But the "orphan" system again provides credit. A man who wishes to marry but cannot collect the necessary sum goes to his chief, who provides it for him, getting in return a reversionary title to the marriage prices of the bride-groom's daughters if he should have any in the future, and if he should die before they marry, and if he has no male heirs among the "orphans" of the same father, on the whole a biggish "if."[1] Here again the hereditary relations between the chief and the subject give security that the obligation can be repaid, if not to the chief, at any rate to his successors. It must also be remembered that almost all the chief's

[1] If a chief brings up the daughter of an "orphan" in his own house, as he often does, he is entitled to claim a return for having done so when the girl marries, and it is usual to pay this out of the marriage price.

influence is bound up with this system, and it is on the chief's influence that . . . depend . . . the general good behaviour of the Sema country, and . . . the settlement of innumerable petty disputes . . . Moreover, the obligations entailed by this system and the consequence of breaches of it are thoroughly understood and entirely conform to tribal sentiment and the inherent conception of society that prevails in the Sema country both among the chief and the ordinary villagers.

If any proposal were made to abolish the "orphan" system among the Semas or the corresponding and similar system among the Changs, it would have to be borne in mind that such an abolition would have the effect of undermining the authority of the chief, seriously disturbing the whole tribe, and causing a vast increase of petty litigation, and would probably tend to make disputes over land much more liable to end in violence, as it is a long way to court, and the chief might be unable to stop affrays. It would further necessitate provision for a large number of paupers, and would probably give rise to a difficult land question, as the majority of Semas are dependent on the chief, who is "father" to them, for land to cultivate. It would, moreover, make the trans-frontier chiefs exceedingly averse to the extension of British administration, and they would probably jeer at the chiefs of the administered villages as having lost their position and reputation. On the other hand, even if exception be taken to certain features of the system, there is much to be said for leaving it to die a more or less natural death in the course of time, as it is already showing signs of decay in many villages in the Dayang Valley. That interference with long-established custom, however reasonable on the face of it, has unlooked-for consequences, may be gathered from the effect of an attempt made a few years ago to enforce a three years' limitation order for debt in the Mokokchung Sub-division. . . . A Standing Order had recently been passed limiting the time for claiming repayment of any debt to three years after it had been incurred. This order was applicable to debts of paddy as well as of cash. After I had enforced the Order in several

cases of old claims, I found a steady increase in the number of persons produced for punishment for having stolen paddy from the granaries of their neighbours, than which nothing is easier, as granaries are built away from the village for fear of fire, are made of bamboos, the only available material, and have no locks. I found out eventually that these thefts were due to the thieves having been unable to get any loans, as there was no prospect whatever of their repaying in three years, and so no one would give them paddy and they were forced to steal. When the Order was cancelled as regards loans in kind, this epidemic of thefts stopped at once.

It may perhaps be worth while indicating one or two points in which the Sema " orphan " system seems to differ from the " *boi* " system. In the first place it is a system of land tenure, almost a manorial system, and not one of domestic service, for the " orphan " does not necessarily or ordinarily become an inmate of the chief's house or owe him any labour except a very small and fixed amount in the fields. In the second place, he does not lose or acquire any particular social status; he cannot become chief, because the office is hereditary, but he becomes a village elder (*Chuchomi*) in his turn, and may have " orphans " of his own. Thirdly, the marriage price[1] of an "orphan's" daughter is only paid to his " father " in case the real father of the girl dies before her marriage and without male relations who are " orphans " of the same " father," the adopted " father " being then the nearest heir. Fourthly, the sum needed to discharge obligations to the chief is very small indeed. . . .

[1] As distinct, that is, from any expenses the chief may have directly incurred on the girl's upbringing.

APPENDIX V

SOME REMARKS ON THE SEMAS IN CONNECTION WITH MR. PERRY'S "MEGALITHIC CULTURE OF INDONESIA."

In a paper which I read before the Oxford Anthropological Society in 1919 I drew attention to a number of points in which the evidence available from Naga tribes seemed to run counter to the conclusions arrived at by Mr. Perry, who definitely includes the Naga Hills in the area of which he treats.

Without wishing to detract in any way from the value of the general trend of Mr. Perry's researches, or to recapitulate all the points of my paper referred to, I think it worth noticing here a few of these points which more particularly touch the Semas.

Mr. Perry's conclusions contain among others the following :—

(1) That hereditary chiefs in Indonesia claim descent from a sky-spirit.

(2) That the use of stone in general is "associated with the presence of hereditary chiefs."

(3) That the use of stone graves and stone seats is specially connected with hereditary chiefs.

(4) That the use of seats at all is foreign to the civilisation of Indonesian people, who "habitually sit on mats or squat on the ground."

(5) That materials used for building probably do not depend on local conditions.

(6) That working in stone is roughly co-extensive with a cult of sacred stones.

(7) That the existence of certain food tabus shows that

the soul-substance of man is regarded as identical with that of the animals whose flesh is tabued.

The Sema Tribe[1] is a direct contradiction of conclusions (1), (2), (3) and (4), though (in connection with No. (1)) stories of the *Kungumi*—sky-spirits—are plentiful enough. Indeed the general conclusion on these points from the Naga Hills is that the use of stone and descent from sky-spirits is found primarily where there are democratic institutions, while the assumption that the use of seats generally is foreign to Indonesian culture would seem to be entirely unfounded as regards the Naga areas.

All Nagas and Kukis habitually sit on seats, and not on the ground if they can help it.

With regard to the fifth conclusion mentioned, all evidence from the Naga tribes suggests that materials used in building are dependent on those locally available. Thus while the majority of tribes use thatching grass for roofing, the Aos use palm-leaves, "Tokupāt," where thatching grass is scarce and the palm is common, while the Kacha Nagas and Kukis where thatch is scarce use bamboo and cane leaves. So, too, the Kalyo-Kengu, who are able to obtain slate, use that either instead of thatch or to eke out what thatch they can get. When it comes to building we find the Angamis, who have timber in plenty, but little bamboo, use hewn planks to build with. The Semas, with little timber but plenty of bamboo in their country, use the latter. Stone is used in building by the Angami partly, no doubt, because, in order to get his houses into the limited village sites available, a great deal of stone must be dug out and disposed of in the process of levelling the ground for building.

The sixth conclusion mentioned does not hold good of the Naga Hills, where the cult of sacred stones is on the whole as strong among the tribes that do not use stonework and have no megalithic customs as it is among those that do.

In this connection I would draw attention to the origin

[1] And the same probably applies to the Thado Kukis as well, though they are a very different tribe from the Semas.

myth of the Aos; Mr. Perry's conclusion that myths ascribing the source of a tribe to a hole in the ground are "due to the adoption of the culture associated with the use of stone and of the practice of interment" fails here. The Aos all ascribe their origin to a hole in the ground at the place called Lungtrok—"Six Stones"—on Chongliemdi Hill, but they neither use stone nor practise interment.

As regards the seventh of these conclusions, we find that in the Sema as in most other Naga tribes the vast majority of food tabus originate in the fear of the transference of the characteristics of the animal eaten to the person eating it. While it is likely that most Nagas see no distinction between the soul-substance of men and animals (in so far, that is, as they are able to think at all of the substance of the soul apart from the soul itself, for they do not grasp abstractions), the reasons for food tabus are physical, not psychical. The flesh of tigers, leopards, and here and there of some other animals is certainly avoided on the ground of relationship with men, but this relationship is material and physical and not based on identity of soul with some animals to the exclusion of others.

Mr. Perry is perhaps a little too prone to jump at conclusions. Colonel Gurdon ("The Khasis," p. 40) mentions that by the Khasis "the bottoms of valleys are divided into little compartments by means of fairly high banks" into which the water is let in "by means of skilfully contrived irrigation channels." Mr. Perry ("Megalithic Culture of Indonesia," p. 136), quoting this, says: "The Khasis have irrigated terraces." But this is just what they have not got. They commonly irrigate the flat or almost flat bottoms of the valleys.[1] When an attempt to introduce terraced cultivation was made in the Khasia Hills in 1917–18 it was necessary to send for Angamis from the Naga Hills to show how it was done. It is therefore not possible to accept

[1] I should, however, add that Mr. L. O. Clarke tells me that while he was Deputy Commissioner of the Khasia and Jaintia Hills in 1910–11 he observed that a Jaintia village started to make terraces of some sort on the lower slopes of a valley, the bottom of which was irrigated, apparently under pressure of population which necessitated the extension of the irrigated area.

Mr. Perry's statement (p. 137) that although "accounts sometimes only state that irrigation is carried on and make no mention of terraces," yet "there need not be any hesitation in including all the irrigation systems of Indonesia under the heading of terraced irrigation." One hesitates after that to accept such a statement as that in Indonesia "no signs exist of any beliefs in a world in the sky or in beings connected with it previous to the arrival of the stone-using immigrants." At any rate the heavenly bodies must have been there to rouse the natural imagination of men.

APPENDIX VI

SUBJECT VOCABULARIES.

Alien People.

Angami	*Tsüngimi.*
Ao	*Cholimi.*
Chang	*Mochumi.*
Europeans	*Shahami.*
Foreigners	*Kōlami.*
Konyak	*Minyumonagami* (*i.e.* naked, lit. "petticoatless," village men).
Kuki	*Kotsomi, Kukimi.*
Lhota	*Choēmi.*
Plains-men	*Aphimi.*
Rengma	*Mozhumi.*
Sangtam (Pirr) ...	*Lophomi.*
„ (Isa-chanre)...	*Tukomi.*

N.B.—Mochumi, Minyumonagami, Lophomi, and Tukomi and other tribes to the East of the Sema country are also called indiscriminately *Tushomi.*

Drink.

Liquor...	*azhi.*
"Pitha modhu"	*azhichoh.*
"Saka modhu"	*aküza.*
"Kachari modhu"	*azoghü.*
Rohi	*akuputsü.*
Angami modhu	*āmükizhí.*
Water	*azü.*

Food.

Kăchu	*aï.*
Chillies	*gwomishi.*
Vegetables	*ayekulho.*
Meat	*ashi.*
Meat and vegetables	*ashikulho.*
Little fish	*akhamusa.*
Salt	*amti.*
Rice	*atikishi.*
Cooked rice	*ana.*
Hen's eggs	*awukhu.*
Milk	*kechizü.*

amishi kechizü = Cow's milk.
akhi kechizü = Bees' milk, *i.e.* honey.
(*kechizü* lit. = breast water.)

Money.

Rupee 1	*ghaka, aurang (laki) ; apa, aghapa* (=Re.1/-).[1]
Annas 8	*aduli, atuli.*
,, 4	*siki, hiki.*
,, 2	*miya.*
,, 1	*paisa bidhi.*
Pies 3	*paisa laki.*
Change	*amuno* (small coins).
" Give me change for a rupee "...	" *ghaka amuno kililo.*"

Rivers.

The Dayang	*Tapu.*
The Dikhu	*Nanga, Langa.*
The Tita	*Tütsa.*
The Tizu	*Tuzü.*

[1] Rs.2/- using this word = *agha kini*. *Aghapa* is confined to the neighbourhood of Litami and Phusümi. *Ghaka* is commonest among the southern Semas, being taken from the Angami *raka ; aurang* (from the Lhota) is usually used among the northern Semas.

Diseases.

Chicken-pox	*athogha.*
Measles	*ghathoga.*
Small-pox	*aghapeh.*
Boils	*amishĕ.*
Epilepsy	*kilegha.*
Fever	*agakimiki.*
Gonorrhœa	*ghachogha.* / *mūssala.*
Syphilis...	*kolagha.*
Dysentery	*azhiba.*
Diarrhœa	*tizüba.*
Itching, irritation	*apikumuthoh.*
Itch, scabies	*missala.*
Goitre	*akole.*
Cold in the head	*mukogha.*
Cough	*ikki, ichi.*
Elephantiasis	*kwōlagha*

Parts of the Body.

Body	*ashi, ape-ampiyu.*
Head	*akutsü.*
Hair of the head	*akutsü'sa, asa.*[1]
Face	*aghi.*
Forehead	*akishe.*
Eyebrow	*anhyekiki-mhi.*
Eyelash	*anhyeti-mhi.*
Eyelid	*anhyeti-ke.*
Pupil	*anga.*
Eye	*anhyeti.*
Ear	*akini.*
Nose	*anki, anhiki.*
Nostrils	*anhikiki.*
Cheek	*anamchu.*
Mouth	*akichi.*
Moustache	*akichi-mhi.*
Lip	*amtsü.*

[1] N.B.—Hair of the head = "*asa*," but hair of any other part of the body = *amhi.*

Jaw	*amkughi.*
Tooth	*ahu.*
Tongue	*amĭlī.*
Chin	*amkhu.*
Beard	*amkhu-mhi.*
Neck	*azüpo.*
Throat	*aku'oh.*
Chest	*amla.*
Breast	*akechi.*
Arm	*aou.*
Shoulder	*aberinka, abiëghi.*
Armpit	*achishekoh.*
Upper arm	*aoumlo.*
Elbow	*aounnhye.*
Fore-arm	*aouchi.*
Wrist	*aounhye.*
Hand	*aoumzi.*
Palm	*aoumza.*
Finger	*aolati.*
Knuckle	*akükukh* (the bent finger), *aou-thokü, aolati-thokü.*
Thumb	*aoloku.*
Nail	*aoumtsü.*
Back	*akiche.*
Navel	*apfolah.*
Stomach	*apfo.*
Bowels	*akeghi.*
Liver	*apheh.*
Heart	*ameloti* (=mind fruit).
Lungs	*athuthū-kishĕkī.*
Kidney	*akeluh.*
Buttocks	*asüboki.*
Fundament	*asübo.*
Private parts (of the male) ...	*achokoghoti.*
Penis	*achoh.*
Vulva	*amoh.*
Testicle	*achogholati.*
Leg	*akupu, apuku.*

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Hip	*aïku.*
Thigh	*aluko.*
Knee	*akwunhye.*
Shin, calf	*apithe.*
Ankle	*alaonhye.*
Foot	*akupumizhi.*
Toes	*akupuloti* (lit. "fruit on the legs").
Big toe	*akupuloku, apkuloku.*
Heel	*apitsu.*
Bone	*asheghü, aghü.*
Tail	*ashomhi.*
Horn	*akibo.*

Colours.

White	*mietsoghi, metsoghoï.*
Black	*dzubui, tsoboi.*
Red	*huchuhi* (also "brown"), *akuhu.*
Blue	*ākutsu.*
Yellow	*aoni.*
Dun, drab	*fogwi.*
Green	*tsogokhu, tsilabïi.*
Pink	*huzuï.*

Crops.

Thatching grass	*aghi.*
Cereal	*aö.*
Paddy	*aghü.*
Maize	*kolakithi.*
Millet (Italian)	*assuh.*
Job's tears	*akithi.*
Sorghum ("Menitessa")	*atsünakhi.*
A crop like very tall, black, small and close-seeded millet.	*aghu* (*Chenopodium murale*).
A crop resembling Italian millet, but with the heads in clusters.	*amyi.*
Kachu (taro)	*aï.*
Sugar-cane	*akhuï.*

Implements.

Dao	*azhta.*
Hoe	*akuwo* (the "necktie hoe"). *tafuchi* (Yachumi hoe).
Spade (*pharua*)	*akupu.*
Earth-breaking hammer ...	*atheghasi.*
Wood-chopper	*amoghu.*
Basket	*amthoh.*
Adze	*amkeh.*[1]
Rake	*akuwa, achaka.*

Fishes, etc.

Fish	*akha, aka.*
Crab	*achuwoh, atsugho.*
Mahseer	*achesuh.*
Boka	*anyipu.*
Miller's thumb	*dida, duda, chuda.*
Loach	*keghenipu* (in slang also "*achokha*," sens. obsc.).
Eel...	*akhaiki.*
Shrimp, prawn	*atsükoh* (*akha*).

Domestic Animals (tikishi).

Dog	*atsü.*
Cat	*akusa.*
Mithan (*bos frontalis*—gayal) ...	*avi.*
Cow	*amishi* (also used for cattle generally, including mithan).
Mithan-cow hybrid	*avyega.*
Buffalo	*aēli.*
Goat	*anyeh.*
Pig...	*awo.*
Fowl	*awu.*

[1] But others use *akaghi* and use *amke* for an adze-shaped implement for digging holes, graves, etc.

Insects.

Worm	*alapu.*
Leech	*aiveh.*
Flea	*ahi.*
Bug	*akuhu.*
Mosquito	*akaomi.*
Sand-fly	*ammïi.*
Horse-fly	*amthu.*
Butterfly	*amimi.*
Firefly	*asüghao, saghu, hemlala.*
Fly	*ayelakhu.*
Green locust	*tlhaku.*
Red locust	*kütsüpvu.*
Wasp, bee	*akhi* (generic).
Grasshopper	*leotsü.*
Spider	*talhakhu.*
Centipede	*kitimi nodu* (lit. = "dead-man's earring"), *latilala, alaza.*
Snail, slug	*tenhaku.*
Scorpion	*achuwoh pa'za* (lit. = "the crab's mother").[1]
Ant	*alhache* (generic). *ashükhu* (black ants). *atisü* (small red ants). *alhakhu* (white ants). *alhu* (white ants winged).

Wild Animals (teghashi).

Bengal monkey (*Macacus pelops*)	*ashŭki.*
Hill monkey (*Macacus assamensis*)	*asïi.*
Brown stump-tailed monkey (*Macacus arctoïdes*)	*amthuh.*
Huluk (*Hylobates hooluck*)	*akuhu.*
Langur ("Hanuman" — *Presbytes entellus*)[2]	*angu.*

[1] The Kuki word for scorpion, *ai-pi*, has the same meaning.

[2] Or *Pithecus brahma.*

Monkey (generic)	*shukuthungu* [? *(a)shŭ(ki)*, *(a)ku(hu)*, *(am)thu(h)*, *(a)ngu ?*].
Leopard tiger (generic)	*angshu.*
Tiger (as distinct from leopard)...	*abolangshu.*[1]
Lynx (? *Felis caracal*)	*angshu-pupu.*
Wild cat (grey—? *Felis chaus*) ...	*akufu.*
Golden cat (*Felis aurata*) ...	*angshu-akinu.*
Leopard cat (*Felis bengalensis*)...	*anyengu.*
Civet cat (*Viverra Zibetha*) ...	*akü, aku.*
Small civet cat (*Viverra malaccensis ?*)...	*akenhe.*
Bear	*ava.*
Wild dog	*atinhe.*
Elephant	*akaha.*
Rhinoceros	*aveghi.*
Wild buffalo	*aghaleli.*
Wild mithan or Gaur (*Bos gaurus*)	*aviela.*
Wild boar	*amini.*
Porcupine	*acheku.*
Hedgehog	*kitimi'cheku* (*i.e.* "dead man's porcupine").
Marten (*Mustela flavigula*) ...	*aketsü.*
Sambhar	*akhu.*
Barking deer (*Cervulus muntjac*)	*ashe.*
Serau (*Capricornis sumatrensis rubidus*)	*achuï* (l.p.).
Otter	*achegeh, atsüghoh.*
Jungle rat (*Rattus fulvescens*) ...	*azhefu.*
Bamboo rat (*Rhizomys*)... ...	*achügi.*
Rattus mackenzi	*azhuye, azhichu* (= "edible rat").
Shrewmouse	*azhitsüh.*
"Badger"	*khauwo, awosho.*

[1] Some also use *angshu-akeghu* for tiger, though this usually means a small reddish cat. The Semas are not very clear in their own minds as to the distinction between tigers and leopards; thus *angshu-allo* usually means a real leopard as opposed to a were-leopard (*angshu-amiki*), but both terms may be heard also applied to tigers.

Squirrel[1]	*akili.*
Ground squirrel	*akili-azugeh.*
Flying squirrel (greater) (*Petaurista yunnanensis*)	*attolo.*
Flying squirrel (less) (*Pteromys aboniger*	*asügi.*
Black squirrel (*ratufa gigantea*)...	*atiki.*
Bat	*ashukha.*
Pangolin (*Manis aurita*) ...	*ashephu.*

Birds.

Jungle fowl (*Gallus ferrugineus*)	*laliu.*
Bamboo partridge (*bambusicola fytchii*)	*agili.*
Arakan hill partridge (*arboricola intermedia*)	*akhi.*
"Kalij" pheasant (*gennæus horsefieldi*)	*aghü.*
Tragopan pheasant (*tragopan blythii*)	*aghah.*
Peacock pheasant (*polyplectron chinquis*)	*awughi.*
Quail	*atsungg.*
Woodcock, snipe	*alisü.* [2]
Dove (*turtur suratensis*)	*mekudu.*
Rufous turtle dove (*streptopelia turtur*)	*akewo.*
Bar-tailed cuckoo dove (*macropygia tusalia*)	*ashogo.*
Green pigeon	*kutuli, tukuli, achuï.*
Imperial pigeon ("poguma"—*ducula*)	*adungg.*

[1] *Tomeutes lokroides* (Assam squirrel) and *Callosciurus erythraeus nagarum* (Red-bellied squirrel) and *Dremomys macmillani* (yellow-bellied squirrel). The Sema does not draw fine distinctions between species. If he recognises them they do not interest him.

[2] I have been given *chepatsungg* for woodcock, but it seems really to mean a button quail. The ancestor of the quails is believed to have consorted with the field-mouse, and to have thus acquired the habit of running about in the fields.

Great hornbill (*Dichoceros bicornis* —" wongsorai ")	*aghacho.*
Rufous-necked hornbill (*Aceros nepalensis*)	*awutsa.*
Malayan wreathed hornbill (*Rhytidoceros undulatus*)	*shefu.*
Pied hornbill (*anthracoceros albirostris*)	*ghaboshutoki.*
? Goodwin Austen's hornbill ...	*kuhu.*
Owl	*akhakoh.*
" Bulbul " (*Molpastes bengalensis*)	*amduh.*
Woodpecker	*ashushu, gaseghe.*
Himalayan Pied Kingfisher (*Ceryle lugubris*)	*tuzüo.*
Brain Fever bird (*Hierococcyx sparverioides*)	*pipilhu.*
Cuckoo	*kuti, guti.*
Swallow, Martin	*michekalhu.* / *akalhu.*
Crow	*agha.*
Wagtail (generic)	*aïti.*
Hawk	*alhakü, awoleh.*
Eagle (Rufous-bellied Hawk-eagle—*Lophotriorchis kieneri*)	*alokhu.*

Reptiles.

Snake	*apeghi, apŏghü.*
Python	*aïthu.*
Slow-worm	*azhi-shukesàpŏghü.*[1]
Lizard	*atakheh* (used in particular for the " blood-sucker " lizard which changes colour like a chameleon).
Sand lizard	*aniza.*
Flying lizard	*wuheh.*
Frog	*achuï* (h.p.).

[1] *I.e.*, "liquor-drink-bad-snake," because if you kill it your drink goes bad on you.

Toad	*thoghŏpu, pogŏpu.*
Tortoise	*atoinhyeh* [*assühu*].
Tadpole	*kodela, yemoghwo.*

Hunting.

Game	*ashi.*
Tracks	*anyipa.*
Horns	*aikibo.*
Wound	*akuh.*
Blood	*azhi.*
Clots of blood	*aikichehmokoh.*
Huntsman	*ashihami.*
Hunting dog	*ashihatsü.*[1]
Go a-hunting	*ashihawolo* (imperative).
Scent	*muna.*
Hit (with spear)	*chelu anni, chev'ai* (vb.).
Miss (with spear)	*chezüve* (vb.) (*chemoi* = not throw).
Hit (with gun)	*kaku anni, kakuv'ai* (vb.).
Miss (with gun)	*kazüve* (vb.).
Panji	*ashu.*
Pitfall	*akhwo.*
Trap	*aitho.*
Snare...	*akessüh, awufu.*
Bird lime	*ghoghotah.*

Weapons.

Bullet	*mashehu-ti, alika-ti* (*i.e.* "gun fruit").
Gun	*musheho, mashehu, alika.*
Bow	*alika.*
Bowstring	*alika-keghi.*
Arrow	*aliwoh.*
Quiver	*aliwokuh.*
Shield	*aztho, azhto.*
Spear...	*angu* [*anyi*].
Dao	*aztha, azhta.*
Dao with curved back ...	*akyekeh.*

[1] A dog which won't hunt is called *atsüzü* (? = "dog-water")

Dao handle	*aztha-lagi.*
Dao sling	*asuki.*
Wooden-hafted axe ...	*aztha kohi.*
Iron-hafted axe	*ailagi.*
Iron-hafted spear	*aiyingussüh.*
Hairy-handled spear ...	*angsa kumagha, angussah.*

Musical Instruments.

Flute	*fululu.*
Jews' harp	*ahewo.*
Drum	*sheku.*
Bell, rattle (wooden) ...	*kōhkōhpōh.*

Dress and Ornaments.

Hornbill feathers	*aghachomhi.*
Cotton for the ears ...	*akinsupha.*
Hair wig	*avabo.*
White beads...	*ashoghi.*
Pig-tusk necklet	*aminihu.*
Hair sash	*amlaka.*
Ivory armlet	*akahaghi.*
Cowrie gauntlet	*aouka as'uka.*
Hair fringe to gauntlet ...	*samogho.*
Brass bracelet	*asapu.*
Waist-belt containing purse	*ghakabo.*
Waist-belt for dao sling ...	*asuchikhéki.*
Sema apron	*amini.*
Large apron ornamented with cowries in rows ...	*aminikedah.*
Small apron with a cowrie circle	*lapucho.*
Horizontal tail	*avikisaphu.*
Hanging tail	*asaphu.*
Cane leggings	*apkuki.*
Cloth	*api.*
Red cloth	*akuhu'pi.*
Cowrie cloth...	*asenukedapi.*
Woman's armlet	*aksa.*

Nature.

The world	*titsükholo* ; (in oaths "*atsütsü ayeghi pama dolo*" = that which is between heaven and earth).
Heaven	*atsütsü.*
Earth	*ayeghi.*
Water	*azü.*
Fire	*ami.*
Air	*amulhu.*
Sun	*tsükinyhe.*
Moon	*akhi.*
Stars	*aiyeh.*
Falling stars...	*aiyeba* (lit. "star excrement").
Wind	*amulhu.*
Storm	*pasapagha.*
Rain	*tsütsüghu, mutsü* ; *mutsüsala* ("rainy season").
Hail	*apüghi.*
Snow	*mulasü, morasü.*
Ice, frost	*avu.*
Cloud	*kunkusü.*
Mist (*from river*)	*azüthothu.*
Thunder	*atsütsüsü* (lit. = heaven tearing), *tsütsüküssü.*
Lightning (*sheet*)[1]	*Iki'zhta kukulo* (= the flashing of Iki's dao).
Lightning (*forked*)	*amusuh, aghashu.*
Forest	*avezü, aghaghü* (as opposed to "*aghasa*," light jungle).
Mountain	*naguto.*
Cliff, boulder	*athokhu.*
Valley	*aboku, akuthoku.*
River...	*aghoki, awoki.*
Stream	*awokiti.*
Waterfall, rapids	*azüpapa.*
Rainbow	*milesü.*

[1] The verb used with *Iki'zhta* is *kululo* or *kukulo*, the verb used of forked lightning is *keghalo*.

Trees, plants, and fruit (tree, wood, plant = *asü, abo;* fruit = *ati*).

Alder tree	*littisü* (*Aldus nepalensis*).
Birch tree	*yepasü.*
Oak tree	*apisü.*
Acorn	*apiti.*
Walnut tree	*ghakutisü.* / *ghakutibo.*
Walnut	*ghakuti.*
Pine	*assahu, assahu-bo, assahu-sü.*
Giant bamboo	*aphobo.*
Large bamboo	*apicheh.*
Common bamboo	*api.*
Tying bamboo (" tangal ")	*akau.*
Little bamboo	*aiyichi* (the single bamboo).
Little bamboo	*amah.*
Cotton tree (*simal*)	*punyosü.*
Sago palm	*aithobo.*
Fig tree	*koghobo.*
Fig	*koghoti.*
Tree fern	*sapunadi-bo.*
Hair-brush palm	*amuwoh.*
Wormwood	*khokhu-bo, kopu-bo.*
Soap-tree	*thopi-bo.*
(Soap [*the bark*]	*thopi-'ko-iko.*)
Soap-vine	*asalu-bo.*
Bird lime tree	*ghoghotah-bo.*
Bohinia	*pahakupvu-sü* (*-bo*).
Elephant apple	*aghatsati* (*-bo*) (the Assamese " o-thenga ").
Wild strawberry	*agauu lozhe-ti.*
Blackberry	*yevüi-ti-bo.*
Yellow raspberry	*süliti-bo.*
Crimson raspberry	*avichokoghwo-ti-bo.*
Wild peach tree	*yekŭti-bo* (the fruit = *yekŭti*).
Cactus (*Euphorbia*)	*kohpi.*
Lime, Orange (etc. generic)	*mushoti, mishiti* (the tree = *mishiti-sü*).

Wild quince tree	*pukweti-sü* (the fruit = *pukweti*).
Nettle	*apoghü.*
Cane	*akkeh.*
Willow tree	*tizüsü.*

Measures.

Seer	*aohu.*[1]
Load	*akhoh.*
Duli	*abi* (about three maunds).
Pipe	*azzühu* (" chunga ").
Pot	*aghübo.*
Gourd	*apvu* (" lao ").
Cup	*azhukhu.*

Man.

Man	*timi.*
Man (male)	*kepitimi.*
Woman	*totimi.*
Infant	*anga.*
Child	*itimi.*
Boy	*āputethemi.*
Young man	*āpumi.*
Middle-aged man	*muchuhela.*
Elderly man...	*muchomi.*
Old man	*kitemi* (too old to work).
Girl (young)	*ililhoteh.*
Young woman	*ilimi, alimi.*
Middle-aged woman ...	*thopuhela.*
Elderly woman	*thopumi.*
Old woman	*kitemi.*

VERBS OF MOTION.

(*Imperative forms.*)

Go	*gwovelo, guvelo, wulo.*
Go in	*ghulo, ilulo.*
Go out	*pavelo, ipavelo.*

[1] Strictly, *aohu* = the two hands full.

Go up	*kwovilo, ekwovilo.*
Go down	*kevilo, ekevelo.*
Go back	*ilyovelo.*
Come	*gwoghelo, eghelo, 'ghelo.*
Come in	*gwologhilo, eloghilo, ileghelo.*
Come out	*paghilo, ipeghilo.*
Come up	*koghilo, ekoghilo, khwoghelo.*
Come down	*keghilo, ekeghilo.*
Come back	*ilyeghelo.*
Go along the level	*phivelo.*
Go for a walk	*ilulo, ilyulo.*
Go on a tour	*izuwulo.*
Go to the fields	*hulo.*
Walk	*chelo* (used of coming rather than of going).
Run	*povelo* (used of going rather than of coming).
Reach	*tohlo.*
Jump	*agutilo.*
Jump up	*ikulo.*
Jump down	*ilheikikevelo.*
Jump into	*khaïlhelulo.*

Verbs of Perception.

(*Root forms.*)

Know	*iti.*
See	*itu* [*zü*] (get = *itulu*).
Perceive	*zhu.*
Look, look at	*hizhu.*
Hear	*n'zhu, inzhu.*
Feel (with hand)	*kunhuzhu.*
Think	*kumserrü.*

Abuse.

Ghapio	accursed (somewhat strong).
Akumokeshu	burier of corpses (somewhat strong).

Pokimi	runaway.
Kahami	worthless fellow.
Ghokomi	fool, feckless, incapable and helpless.
Kegüzumi	idiot, lunatic.
Awokhu-toh	sow-like (used of one who is lazy or can't walk).
No nhapitivelo!	die in child-birth ! (to women).
No ketseshe-shi-tilo! ...	die " apotia."

There are two forms of symbolical abuse which are called (1) *anhyeba-seätsü*, in which the speaker pulls down his cheek so as to show the inside of the lower lid and white of the lower part of his eye. This is equivalent to telling a man to eat *anhye-ba*—" eye-excrement." (2) *Asübo-kutsü*, in which the speaker turns his rump towards the person abused and smacks it—the equivalent of a vulgar expression not unknown in England.

Greetings.

Are you well ?	*akevishi an'kya ?*
I am quite well (replying to above)	*akevishiani.*
Farewell (to one departing)	*akevishiwulo.*
Keep well (to one remaining)	*akevishialo.*

English–Sema Vocabulary.

For the sake of convenience in pronouncing, " kh," where a very marked aspirate and pronounced somewhat like *ch* in the Scotch " loch," has been written *kh* or kh ; long and short vowels have also been marked here and there for the same reason, and where there is a marked accentuation without which the word cannot be understood, the accent is noted in brackets. In a few cases where a word differs from similar words in tone only, and where the difference in tone is very marked, " l.p." (low pitch) or " h.p." (high pitch) follows the word in brackets.

Verbs are all given in the imperative form for the sake of convenience even where no imperative is ordinarily used; the present or other tense may be formed by cutting off the "*-lo*" of the imperative termination and adding that of the tense required. The "*-ve-*" which sometimes precedes the "*-lo*" of the imperative is often omitted in other tenses.

Where a word implies relationship, and is only used with a possessive pronoun preceding it, the entonic "*a*" is replaced by an apostrophe.

To avoid unnecessary repetitions most words which have appeared already in the lists of adverbs, etc., or in the subject vocabularies have been omitted.

English.	Sema.
A.	
A, an	laki.
Abandon	phevelo.
Abide	ngulo.
About (*adv.*)	hulao-hilao.
Abreast	akkemmi (lit. = *men of equal age*).
Abscond	povelo.
Abuse (*n.*)	atsa alhokesáh.
Accept	lulo.
Accidentally	mthano.
Accompany	kumtsa gwolo.
Accurate	kucho kucho.
Accursed	ghapio (*primarily used of a chicken released in the jungle as a "scape-goat" by a sick man*).
Accusation	atsa kegegha, atsa keghra.
Accuse	ngukulo.
Ache (*vb.*)	sūlo (*is aching* = sūanni, sānni).
Acid (*adj.*)	khammvo.
Acquaintance	nikitoimi (= *neighbour*).
Acquire	itululo.
Active	taĭkemi (*n.*).
Admonish	kūtsūlo.
Adult	*see* "*young*."
Advance	atĕghĕshilo.
Adversary	kekesüh, kekesü-kechĕmi.
Afar	alakusua.
Affection	kukukye, akukukhu.
Affliction	aghime.
Affray	kicheghi.
Afoot	alacheno (*alache* = *road-go*).
Afraid	müsa.
Afterbirth	amonha.
Afternoon	avelao.

English.	Sema.
Again	etaghe.
Against	mongupfe, o lao kumoi (= *not of your side*).
Agent	azokūmi.
Agree	kumtsalo.
Aim (*vb.*)	meghezhulo, megalulo.
Alarm	müsa.
Alien (*n.*)	ainakitámi, ināmi.
Alike	aphiphi.
Alive	akukhu.
All	akuchopu, kumtsü.
Alone	'likhi, 'liki.
Aloud	igwono.
Alter	kililulo.
Alternately	küzoku-küzoli.
Always	alhokuthu.
Ambush...	akügotsü, itsü.
Among	dolo.
Ancestor	asü.
Ancestors	kaghe-kichimi, apo-asü.
Ancient	akhā.
Angry	kuloghwu.
Animal	akenu, tikitiva.
Annoyance	alhomogha.
Another	ketao.
Apart	kütütha.
Apartment	kalaobo (*outer room*), amphokibo (*middle room*), akusaobo (*back room*).
Apiece	laki laki.
Appetite	müzzthi.
Applaud	alhokevishilo, aou kukulo (= *clap*).
Arise	ithoulo.
Around (*adv.*)	aho (*in compounds* " ho " ; e.g. *ho eghelo* = *come round*).
Around (*post-position*)...	'ho.
Arouse	kedalo.
Arrest	keghalulo.
Arrive	tollo, tohlo.
Artful	amkukinimi (*noun*) (= *man rich in wiles*).
Article	a'u, anhyemogha.
Ascend	kwolo, ekwovelo.
Ash	ayevu.
Ask	injelo.
Ask for	kūlo.
Aslant	kughoh.
Asleep	züavü, züani (*vb.*).
Assault (*n.*)	kichegi.
Assemble	akwŏshilo.
At once	ghotolaki.
Attention, pay (*vb.*) ...	inyululo.

English.	Sema.
Autumn...	tekheghulo.
Avaricious	kutsükichemi.
Await	khelo.
Awake	kedālo.
Awe	müsa.

B.

Baby	itimi, anga.
Back (*n.*)	akiche.
Back door	aküssa, aküssao.
Bacon	awoshi.
Bad	alhokesah, akesah (*accent ultimate in both cases*).
Bag	shipaku.
Baggage	nyhemoga.
Balance	ala (*remainder*).
Bald	akütsümhikaha, mhiphai or akishe mhiphai (= *bald in front*).
Bamboo...	akao (*generic*).
Bang	aghügha.
Bar (*vb.*)	khavelo.
Bar (*n.*)	akadu.
Barber	akütsü-keshimi.
Bare	kumsa.
Barefaced	kuzhomoi.
Bark (*of tree*)	asükōza.
Bark (*vb.*)	eghālo.
Barter	alhikeshi.
Bashful	akukuzhomi (*n.*).
Basin	akhu.
Bask	tsukinyhe (*or* ami) poghalo.
Basket	ashwege, abi (*big duli*), asli (*little duli*), akwoh ("*kang*"), aka'u ("*jappa*").
Bastard	thekanu.
Bathe	azü kuchulo.
Battle	aghükighi.
Be	alo.
Bead	achi.
Beak	aghao-kechi, aghao-hu.
Beam	aketsu, akivi (cross beam).
Bean	ake*khi*.
Bear (*a child*) (*vb.*) ...	punulo.
Beast	akenu.
Beat	bulo ; helo.
Beautiful	hizhukia alhoï.
Beckon	aoukuhilo.
Become	shiuvelo.
Bed	alipa, azü'a.
Beef	amishishi.

English.	Sema.
Before	azou.
Beg	tsoholo.
Beggar	kutsohomi.
Begin	ashenyelo.
Begone	povelo.
Behead	akütsü lulo.
Behind	athiu.
Behold	zhulo, hizhulo.
Belch	muchukalo.
Bellow (*vb.*)	eghālo.
Bellows	akufupu.
Belly	apfo, apvo.
Belly-ache	apvosüani (*vb.* = *is aching*).
Beloved	akukukhumi, kukukyemi (*n.*).
Bent, crooked	akuwohoh.
Best	akiveo, allokeo.
Bet (*vb.*)	thapilo.
Betray	akhaono pana saphulo (lit. = *secretly go and help the other side*).
Better	-ye.....kevi.
Beware	shitsashilo.
Big	kizhe, akizhe.
Bind	tsüghālo.
Bird	aghao.
Bird-lime	atta.
Bird-nest	aghaopusü.
Birth	anga punuke (= *babe born*).
Bite	mikilo.
Bitter	kumtsai.
Black	tsüboi.
Blacksmith	akighekemi, akīyekemi.
Bladder	akachebo.
Blame (*vb.*)	atsa 'kesah pilo.
Blank	akimtheh.
Blaze	amikūghükhu.
Bleat (*vb.*)	anyehghashilo (*of a goat itself* anyehghalo).
Blind	anyeti kerichemi (*n.*)
Blister	ingu.
Blockhead	ta keghüzumi (= *a little crazy*).
Blood	azhi (*l.p.*).
Bloom (*flower*)	akupu, akupfu, akuphu.
Blow (*n.*)	he.
Blunder	kumsumu (*vb.* kumsumu va).
Blunt	tsogamoi.
Blush (*vb.*)	hochuhi valo (= *turn red*).
Boast (*vb.*)	akekeza shilo.
Boat	ashuka.
Boatman	ashuka peghemi.
Body	api-ampiu.

English.	Sema.
Boil water (*vb.*) ...	azü pululo.
Boil (*n.*)...	amishe (small), upah (large), mishtsa.
Bold	müsamokemi (*n.*).
Bone	ashogho.
Book	kaku.
Borrow	nalulo.
Borrower	timipikupvumi.
Both	pama.
Bother (*vb.*)	alhomoghatsülo, 'ghimetsülo.
Bottom	asübo.
Boundary	aghothu.
Bowels	akheghi.
Boy	itimi, āpumi (*see "young"*).
Bracelet...	asu'ukekah, asapu.
Brains	akhoh (*literal*), amelo (*metaphorical*).
Bramble	asahu (= *thorn*).
Brass	asapuï, asapu'i.
Brave	pamelo'kizhe (= *his heart great*).
Breeze	amulhu.
Brew (*vb.*)	beaghilo.
Bridge	akupu (*of wood*), ayikupu (*of iron*), akkekupu (*of cane*).
Bring	seghelo (*of a thing carried*), saghelo (*of a thing led*).
Broad	kizhe.
Bubble	azükümla.
Build	akishilo.
Burden	akwo, apfe (*N.B.*—"*apfe*" *is not used alone, but* "*apfe laki*" = *one load*).
Burial-place	akumokukho.
Burier	akumokeshu, amushoh.
Burn (*vb.*)	pitilo (*intr.*), pitivetsülo (*tr.*).
Bury	khwoivelo.
Bush	asükegha.
Busy	"akumla kuthom'ani" (="*work much is*").
Buy	külo, khülo.
By-and-by	itouno.
Bypath	alilula.

C.

Calamity	ahākesah.
Calculate	philo.
Call (*vb.*)	kulo.
Call away	kusasülo.
Capture (*vb.*)	keghālo.
Carcass	akumo.
Care, take (*vb.*)... ...	alloputsülo.
Carry	pfulo, pulo (*on the back*), pfelo, pelo (*in the hands*).

English.	Sema.
Catch (*fish*)	(akha) mussülo.
Cattle	akilepeghiu (= *domestic animals*).
Certain	tangui.
Chain	aïla.
Chair	alaku.
Change (*vb. tr.*)... ...	akililo.
Change (*small coin*) ...	amuno.
Channel	azüla.
Character	amelo.
Charm (*n.*)	agha.
Chase (*vb.*)	havelo.
Cheap	amethomo.
Cheat (*n.*)	kemikimi.
Cheek	animuchu.
Chest (*of body*)	amla.
Chicken	awuti.
Chief (*n.*)	kekami, akekao (*the former refers to the rank or class, the second to the single individual*).
Child	itimi.
Childhood	itimilo, itilo (*locative form*).
Chilly	sitike.
Circuitous	vekoho.
Clan	ayeh, ayah.
Clap (*hands*), (*vb.*) ...	aou kukulo.
Claw	aoumtsü.
Clay	agha.
Clean	mütsomishei.
Close (*vb.*)	khavelo.
Cloth	api (*red cloth* = akuhupi), ananupfo (= *clothes*).
Cobweb	talhakutha.
Cock	awudu.
Cock-crow	awuïghave'a.
Cohabit	sazüälo.
Cold	siti.
Comet	ayephu.
Commerce	alhi.
Companion	akesammi (*of males*), apami (*of females*).
Compassion	kimiyeh.
Complaint	atsa kekegha, atsa keghra.
Conch-shell	alapu, aveka (*pieces of shell*).
Confine	khavelo.
Conflict (*n.*)	kighi, ki'i.
Contemporary (*n.*) ...	akhemi.
Converse (*vb.*)	küpetsalo.
Cook (*vb.*)	belulo (*of rice*), lholulo (*of curry, etc.*).
Copulate	sazülo, amou nyatsülo.
Cord	akheghi.
Corpse	akumo.
Cost	ame.

English.	Sema.
Cotton	asüpa.
Countenance	aghi, agi, adi, ayi, ani.
Country	aluza (*district, region*), aphu (= *village*).
Courageous	amelo-kevi (= *heart good*).
Cover (*vb.*)	bevelo.
Coward	inamomï, amĕlo-kĕ-kahā-mi.
Cowherd	amishikikhemi.
Crawl	ippuchelo.
Crazy	keghüzumi (*n.*).
Creeper	sukkasü.
Cripple	apukuketimi, apukukoghwohomi.
Crooked	akuwoho.
Cruel	kimiyemo (= *not pity*).
Cry (*vb.*)	kaälo.
Cubit	aou laki.
Cuff (*vb.*)	daihelo, duhalo.
Cultivate	(alu) chichelo.
Cup	azuku.
Cure (*vb.*)	shipivilo.
Curl (*n.*)	asaïchegeh, asayegekeh.
Custom	aghüli-ayeh, nipuasiye, niye, nige, ayeh, ayah.
Cut	michevelo.

D.

Daft	keghüzumi (*n.*).
Daily	aghulo atsütsü, aghlo achi.
Dam (*n.*) (of water) ...	azü keputhu.
Dam (*vb.*)	azükalo.
Damaged	shiposa.
Damp	potsaive.
Dance (*vb.*)	kokalo, apilewolo.
Dark	zumoive (= *do not see, did not see*).
Dawn	tsütoye, thanaü.
Day	aghlo.
Day and night	potho pochou.
Daybreak	tsikinhya.
Daylight	atsalaviaye (= *sunlight being good*).
Dead	keti.
Deaf	akinipo, akinikowopomi (*n.*).
Dear (*costly*)	(pame) chile ; pame shuani (= *its price is high*).
Decapitate	ipfughelo (= *take a head in a raid*).
Decked (*with ornaments*)	ananupuke.
Deep	akuthoku.
Delay	monoivai.
Delirium	aghamiki-izu (lit. = *fever-wandering*).
Deliver	kupunulo (*of aid given to a woman at child-birth*).
Descend...	yekelo, ekelo.

English.	Sema.
Desire (*n.*)	khu, akukukhu, kukukye.
Destiny	āghau (*l.p.*).
Destruction	shiposa.
Detour	alavekoho.
Dew	atsüzü.
Die	tivelo, tiuvelo.
Difficult	akushoh.
Dig	chulo.
Directly	ohtolaki.
Dirty	a*kh*eni, mithemoi, akhe*kh*eh (*of persons*).
Discord	ki'i, kighi.
Dish	ali, akhū, asükhū.
Disobedient (is) ...	atsachimlai.
Dispute (*vb. tr.*) ...	kishilo.
Distant	kushoh, kushuwa, ala-kusuwa.
Distinct	ketao.
Distribute	kizhülulo.
Ditch	amgazulaki.
Dive	azülo ilulo.
Divide	kizhululo.
Divorce (*vb.*)	hapevelo, ikhavelo.
Do	shilo, mulalo.
Dog	atsü.
Domestic animals ...	akilopeghiu, akilakipeghi, tikishi.
Door	akikha, alyuwo (*of a village fence*).
Dowry	ākhü.
Drag	sünhyelo.
Dream	amou.
Dress	api.
Drink	shulo (*of fermented liquor only*), yelo (*of drinks other than fermented liquor*).
Drip	azüizhü keghalo, azükegüzhipelo.
Drive	halo.
Droll	ghava.
Drop (*n.*) (of water) ...	azükegüzhi (*accent on last syllable*).
Drown (*vb. intr.*) ...	azülo ilulovelo (= *sink in water*).
Drunk	shomzu v'a.
Dry	akithi.
Dumb	amlitsukemi (*n.*).
Dung	aba.
Dust	ayeghemoku (*accent on ultimate*), ayeghe-ghoghu.
Dwell	ngulo.
Dye	amchu (*red*), akutsüpi (*blue, black*), aone (*yellow*).

E.

Each (*distributive*) ...	laki laki.
Early	inakhe.

English.	Sema.
Ear-ring	ayekhamonu, akhamonu (*ear ornament*), akinsupha (*ear cotton*).
Earth	ayeghi, ayeghe.
Earthquake	tsutsükogholu, tsutsilü.
East	tsikinhyekipela.
Easy	mulomo, àkumlah (*accent on ultimate*).
Eat	ilhulo (*take food*), chulo (*act of eating*), éëchulo (*eat with hand*), hāchulo (*eat with spoon*).
Echo	muza-muza.
Eclipse	tsikinhyehaou (*of sun*), akhihaou (*of moon*).
Edge	akechegela, apfeyü; (*of river or precipice*) amukü; (*of cup or utensil*) amutsü.
Effigy	aghongu.
Egg	-khu, -khuh, awukhuh (= *hen's egg*).
Elbow	aounhye.
Elder	akichiu.
Elsewhere	kethaola.
Embankment (*of a field*)	ayekuzbo.
Embrace (*vb.*)	kügapfelo.
Employment	akumla.
Empty	kumsa.
Encircle	veholĕvelo, suhulevelo.
End	asübo (*latter end*), akichu (*fore-end*).
Endeavour (*vb.*) ...	mulazhulo.
Enemy	aghumi, aghuemi.
Enlarge	kizheshilo.
Enough	ta! thai! ivelo!
Enter	eloghilo.
Entice	zülulo, züsaghelo.
Entire	kupvu.
Entirely...	kupvulo, alloko (= *quite*).
Epilepsy	kileghakipe.
Equal	aphiphi.
Erect	mozucho.
Escape (*vb.*)	povelo.
Espouse	anyipfu lulo (*of the man*), nhilo (*of the woman*).
Evening...	kezhiliu.
Ever	gwolatsutsü.
Everyone	kumtsü.
Everywhere	kumtsülalo, kumtsüla.
Evidence	akesao 'tsa.
Exact	kuchoh.
Except (*post-postn.*) ...	peveno, iveno.
Excess	she, chilo.
Exchange (*vb.*) ...	akililo, kililulo.
Exercise, take	kamalichelo, amulhu kutofu iluchelo.
Expend	pokavetsülo.
Expensive	pameshoh.
Explain	kütsilo, ketsülo.

English.	Sema.
Extinguish	pinhevelo.
Extremity	asüboki (lit. = *fundament*).
Eyesore	anyetizu.

F.

Fable	kaghalomi'tsa (*word of men of old time*).
Face	aghi, agi, ayi, adi, ani.
Faint (*vb.*)	izuvuvelo, *or use* tiuvenchin (= *is beginning to die*).
Fair	zhuvi.
Fall (*vb.*)	iluvelo.
Fallen	ekyeke.
False	miki.
Family	nisholokumi.
Famine	pokkü, pokkükye.
Famous	pa zhe vi (lit. = *his name good*).
Fan	ámikofúpū.
Far	alakusua.
Farewell !	akevishialo (*to one whom you are leaving*), akevishi wolo (*to one who is leaving you*).
Fasten	tsoghavelo.
Fat	akukizhe.
Fat (*n.*)	atha.
Fate	aghau (*l.p.*).
Fatigue	aghame.
Fault, commit (*vb.*) ...	alhokesah shilo.
Favour	kimiye.
Fear (*vb.*)	müsalo.
Feather	amhi.
Feeble	apekeveki, apekü.
Feed	tsülo.
Feel	kunhuzhulo.
Fell (*vb.*)	iluvetsülo.
Fence	aghothu.
Fetch	seghelo (*of thing carried*), sāghelo (*of person or animal led*).
Fever	aghakimiki, aghamiki.
Few	kitila, kitla.
Field	alu.
Fierce	kichi.
Fight (*vb.*)	aghueshilo, aghushilo.
Fill	akuchopu shilo.
Fin	asakhu (*dorsal*), akichibo, achishibo (*pectoral*).
Find (*vb.*)	itululo.
Fine (*vb.*)	asăchulo.
Finger	aolati.
Finished	tov'ai, thaiv'ai (*past tense of vb.*).

English.	Sema.
Fire	ami.
Fire (*vb.*)	pitivetsülo.
Fire (*of a gun*) (*vb.*) ...	phelo.
Fireplace	amphokibo.
First	atigheshi, atheghiu.
Fish (*n.*)	akha.
Fish (*vb.*)	akha musselo.
Fisherman	akha kemussemi.
Fish-hook	akha kemusseï.
Fishing-rod	akha kemusse shuhi.
Flame	ami-mĭlī (lit. "*fire-tongue*").
Flat	ipèlleh, moduni, āpàshī.
Flay	lhalo.
Flee	povelo.
Fleet (*adj.*)	polunani (*vb.* = *can flee*).
Flesh	ashi.
Flexible	sükuhoikye.
Flow	(azū) koülo, (azū) uvelo.
Flower	akupu (*when put in the ear*, akhāmŭnū).
Fly (*n.*)	aghyela, amuthu (*horse-fly*).
Fly (*vb.*)	yauvelo, yevelo.
Foam	azükumla.
Fold (*vb.*)	kekano sutsülo.
Follow	athiu wolo (*go after*), athiu eghilo (*come after*).
Food	akuchupfu.
Fool	keghüzümi.
Foot	apuku apa, apuku mizhi.
Footpath	ala.
Footprint	apuku'nyepa, anyepa, apa.
Footstep	apuku'nyepa.
Forbid	lakavelo, kaivelo.
Forcibly	ighono.
Forefathers	apo-asü.
Forefinger	aolati anoghu.
Forget	kumsumavelo.
Forgive	kevetsülo.
Fork (*of trees*)	aküba.
Formerly	kaghe.
Forsake	phevelo, ivelo.
Fort	apuki.
Foul	a*kh*enhyeh, akikhunya.
Frequently	alhokuthu.
Fresh	akughonu.
Friend	'shou, 'sho ; apami (*between women*).
Frighten	pikumüsalo.
Front (*in front of*) ...	'velo.
Froth	azükümla.
Fruit	akhati, 'ti.
Fruit-stone	ati.

English.	Sema.
Fuel	asü.
Full	chitoI.
Full moon	akhikikiye.

G.

Gadfly	amthu, amuthu.
Gain	alah, isheluki.
Gale	amulhu, pasapagha.
Gamble (*vb.*)	atsüpusho kikivelo.
Game, play (*vb.*) ...	ghavashilo, khokalo.
Gaol	akuwu, akugho.
Garden	atu.
Gate	akeka.
Gather	kichukumkholo.
Generation	tekkelli.
"Genna"	chini (*it is genna = chinike*).
Gently	asheshino.
Get	itululo.
Ghost	kitimi 'ngongu (*dead man's wraith*).
Gift	auwi (*gift to distinguished guest*), kumsa (*=gratis*).
Girl	ilimi, alimi.
Give	tsülo.
Glad	alloshishi.
Gloom (*literal*)	zagughü, chegughü.
Gnat	ammiï.
Gnaw	minyhelo (*accent penultimate*).
Go	guvelo, gwolo, gulo, wulo.
God	Timilhou, Alhou (*the Creator*).
Gong	aI.
Good	akevi, allo, alho.
Good fortune	anguvia.[1]
Goods	anhyemoga.
Gourd	ahoghi, apvu.
Govern (*of a chief, etc.*)...	akeka michilo.
Granary...	alleh.
Grandchild	atilimi.
Grass	aghiï (*thatching grass*), aghasa (*grass jungle*).
Gratis	kumsa.
Grave	akumo kukhoh.
Graze (*vb. trans.*) ...	amishi kyelo.
Grease (*n.*)	āthā.
Great	kizhe.
Green	tsogokhuï.

[1] *Anguvia* < *angu* lit.="dizziness" caused by a rush of blood to the temples, hence equivalent here to "forehead," "fate," and *vi*, "good," *a* "remain."

English.	Sema.
Grief	amĕlussah.
Grind (*corn*)	(a'o, aghu) shĭlo.
Ground	ayeghi.
Grow (*vb. trans.*) ...	pukālo.
Growl (*n.*)	aghagha.
Growl (*vb.*)	eghealo.
Guess	keghashilo.
Guide (*n.*)	alapiēkemi.
Gum	ātta.
Gun	musheho, alika, mashehu.
Gunpowder	amichu, amitsu.

H.

Habit	apasiyeh, ayeh.
Hail	apfoghi, apoghŭ.
Hair	amhi, akutsŭ 'sa (*of the head only*).
Half	thŭkhā.
Halt (*vb.*)	ngulo.
Hammer (*n.*)	chishethulu.
Hand	aoumzi.
Handle (*n.*)	alaghi.
Handsome	azhukĭvi.
Happy	amĕloshile.
Hard	akusho ; mukamughai.
Hardship	imeke, immike.
Harelip	akechiĭzhi.
Harvest	ghilehu.
Harvest-time	ghilekŭ.
Hat	akutsŭ kekhoh.
Hate	zhunishimo.
He	pa.
Headache	akhutsŭ sŭani (*vb.*).
Healthy	apiallo, ampiwallo (= *body-well*).
Hear	inzhulo.
Heart	amlo, amĕlo.
Hearth	amiphokibo.
Heat	lŭvwi.
Heaven	atsŭtsŭ.
Heavy	mishishe.
Hedge	aghutu.
Heel	apitsu.
Heir	alagha.
Help	'saphulo.
Hen	awu-khu.
Hen-roost	awu-kācheh.
Hence	hilehina.
Herdsman (*of kine*) ...	amishikheo.
Here	hilau.

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English.	Sema.
Hereafter	hipathiu.
Hiccup	muchuka.
Hide (*vb.*)	küsivelo (*tr.*), itsüvelo (*intr.*).
High	chukumoghai; chile (*of price*).
Hill	athoh.
Hip	aïku.
Hoe (*n.*)...	akuphu.
Hold	tsükepialo.
Hole (*in clothes*) ...	akhi...ĭpiani (*the simple verb "ani" is not used with "akhi"; piani or "ipiani" must be used*).
Honest	mizucho.
Honey	akhi kechizü.
Honeycomb	akhighwu.
Hook	ihoshu, ihoghwi.
Horn	akibo.
Hornet	akhighü, akhighi.
Horse	kuru (<Hindi *ghora*).
Hospital	aküsüki, akesüki.
Hot	lüvwi.
Hot season	tokutsala.
House	aki.
How	kishine.
How long	ketuhe.
How often	kitohila.
Hunger	müzüti, kelamu (*starvation*).
Hunt (*vb.*)	halo, ashihalo ("*hunt meat*").
Hurricane	pasapagha.
Husband	akimi.
Husbandry	alumla.
Husk	ayepika.

I.

Ice	avu, avuchekuthoh (*accent on ultimate*).
Idiot	keghüzumi.
Idle	akipichi, kokonana.
If	-ayĕ (*enclitic*).
Ignite	amisülo.
Ill, be	sülo, süani > sāni (*present tense*).
Immediately	mtazzülo.
Immodest	kuzhomokimi (*n.*).
Imprison	akuwushipaälo.
In	lo.
Indian corn	kōlakiti.
Indigo	akütsüpibo.
Infancy	itilo.
Infant	anga.
Inform	pilo.

English.	Sema.
Insane	keghūzumi (*n.*).
Insect	anyiga.
Inside	seleku.
Intellect	amĕlo (*the heart is regarded as the seat of feeling and intelligence*).
Interest (*on loans*) ...	akūghushela, akiegeshe.
Intestine	akive (*the large intestine*), akkeghü (*the small*).
Into	seleku, lo.
Invert	pebidelo.
Iron	ayī.
Is	ani.
Isolate	ketashi katavelo (*used of villages and persons*).
Ivory	akahahu.

J.

Japvo	Tukahu, Tukave.
"Jhum"	atholu.
Join (*vb.*)	kimelo.
Joke	ghava (shilo).
Juice	*akh*atizū (*of fruit*).
Jump (*vb.*)	asūlhechelo.
Jungle	avezü (*virgin forest*), aghaghū (*tree jungle*), aghasa (*low jungle*).

K.

Keep	paälo.
Kernel	ati.
"Khel"	asah (*division of a village*); ayeh (*clan*).
Kick (*vb.*)	kitilo.
Kid	anyeh-ti.
Kidneys...	amichikuchopuloti, akelu.
Kill	kakilo (*with gun*); yilo, yivelo (*with spear*); ghokhelo, ghikelo (*with dao*).
Kind, be (*vb.*)	kimiyelo.
Kiss (*vb.*)	mutsülo.
Kitten	akwosati.
Kneel	kwokenyhelo.
Knife	azthachi.
Knock (*as on a door*) (*vb.*)	kukuzhulo.
Knot (*vb.*)	kumkhwovelo.
Know	itilo.
Kohima	Kabu, Kozü.

L.

Laborious	akumlashō.
Labour	akūmla.
Lad	āpumi (*vide infra* "*young*").
Ladder	akāla.

English.	Sema.
Lake	aïzükucho.
Lame man	apukhu-kegechemi, ayekhuko-ghopami.
Land	ayeghi, ayeghü, ayeghe.
Land-slip	anekine.
Language	atsa.
Large	akizhe.
Last (*adj.*)	ashokao ; athekau (*of numbers*).
Late	monuv'ai (*vb.*).
Laugh (*vb.*)	nulo.
Law-suit	atsa kekegha, atsa keghra.
Lay (*place*) (*vb.*) ...	kevetselo.
Lazy	akipichi, kokonana.
Lead (*n.*)	alyegholati.
Leaf	atsini.
Lean (*adj.*)	apilokumo.
Learn	meghüshizhulo.
Left hand (side) ...	aoupiyu.
Lend	punalo.
Length	akushulao.
Letter	kaku.
Level	akkemm.
Liar	akimikīmi, kemikīmi.
Lick (*vb.*)	minyalo.
Lie-down	zülo.
Life	akü*khu* ; alaga (*of lives given in oaths*) ; asholokumi (*do. referring to the persons whose lives are given*).
Lift (*vb.*)	pfekelo, pekelo.
Light (*adj.*)	mitithe.
Liquor	azhi (*h.p.*).
Listen	inzhulo, chelulo.
Little	kitila.
Little-finger	aolati amüghu.
Liver	aloshi.
Living	*kh*uani (*vb.*).
Load (*n.*)	akhoh, akhwoh.
Loan	akena.
Lofty	aikyekeh.
Log	asükumo.
Long	kushuwa.
Look (*vb.*)	hizhulo.
Looking-glass	aghongu-kuyu, timi-kuzhapu.
Loose (*vb.*)	khokovelo.
Loot (*n.*)	atsaokebachuke.
Loot (*vb.*)	atsaokebachulo.
Lose	paháivelo.
Loudly	eghono.
Love (*n.*)	akukukhu, kukukye.
Lovely	zhukela alho.

English.	Sema.
Low	chilini.
Luck	aghao (*l.p.*).
Luggage	anyhemogā.

M.

Madman	aghūzumi (*epileptic*) ; alloko keghūzumi (=*quite crazy*).
Maid	illimi, ililhoteh.
Make	shilo.
Male	kepitimi, piketimi.
Man	timi ; -mi (*in compounds*).
Mango (*wild*)	muzhobo (*tree*), muzhoīti (*fruit*).
Manner	ayeh.
Manure	aba ; abazū (*liquid*).
Many	kuthomo.
Mark	aghothu.
Market	alhi-kekegha, alhi-pogulo.
Marriage, arrange for (*of a chief arranging a wife for a subject*) ...	*kh*elo.
Marriage, ask in (*vb.*) ...	inlo.
Marriage, give in (*vb.*)...	lu-tsülo.
Marrow	akhū.
Marry	kilaolo (*see also* "*espouse*"), lulo (*of the man*), ('kilo) gulo (*of the woman*).
Mat	ayephu.
Matches	amihebo (= "*fire-strike-stick*").
Meal	aghulo, ailikuli.
Meat	ashi.
Meet (*vb.*)	kusholo.
Meeting (*n.*)	kusholoki.
Mend	pukholo ; (akhi) khusselo (*of a thatched roof*).
Merchant	kicheghūzumi, aghūzumi.
Merciful, be (*vb.*) ...	kimiyelo.
Messenger, herald ...	chochomi.
Metal	ayi.
Meteor	ayeba (= *star dung*).
Methinks	imelolo.
Midday, at	telhogholo.
Middle	amtalo (*adv.*).
Midnight, at	zübulo.
Midwife	timikŭpŭnokemi.
Mildew	akoghwumhoh.
Milk (*vb.*)	akechizū sulo.
Mind (*n.*)	amĕlo.
Mire	anyihohoh, aäniba.
Miscarriage	anokhikye ; nhapitilo (*death in child-birth*).
Miscarry	anokevelo.

English.	Sema.
Miser	michikeo.
Miss (*vb.*)	chezüvelo (*with spear*), kazüvelo (*with gun*).
Mist	azüthothu (*from river*), kunkusü (*cloud*).
Mix	sukkalo, kekāvelo.
Moan (*vb.*)	eghālo.
Mock (*vb.*)	zhūmūlo.
Moist	putsaive (*vb.*)
Mole (*on skin*)	tichiphu.
Money	wurang, aurang, ghaka, apa.
Month	akhi, akü.
Moon	akhi, akü; aküthe (*new moon*), akü'akichilo (*full moon*), akühawuncha (*waning moon*).
Morning...	inakhe (*adv.*).
Move	ikikekhyelo, ikikekhyevelo.
Much	kuthomo; hizhehi (*so much*).
Mud	aäni, aäniba.
Murder (*vb.*)	atsalishilo.
Murderer	atsalishikemi.
Mushroom	aphu, apvu.
Muzzle (of gun) ...	alikakichi, musheho-kichi.

N.

Naked	minyumokimi (*n.*).
Name	azhe.
Near	avile, akupunulo; (avilokami = *person sitting near*).
Necklace	ala (*string of beads*).
Needle	apu (*of bamboo*), ayipu (*steel needle*).
Needy	kumulhomi.
Negligent	akipichimi.
Neighbour	nikitoimi.
Net (*fishing*)	akhasho.
New	akiteh; phutemi (*used of new villages as opposed to the original collection of houses*).
Night	pothoh; zübülo (*midnight*), izhi (*last night*), tohuh (*to-night, used during daylight*), itizhi (*to-night, used after dusk*), thozhiu (*to-morrow night*), ina pothoh = *just before dawn.*
Nipple	akichiloti.
Nipple of gun	apuchoh.
Nobody	kumokaha (*there is nobody*); kahami (*a "nobody"*).
Nod (*vb.*)	akutsü kungulo.
Noise	aghugha.
None	kaha.
Nonsense	akumo'tsa (lit. "*corpse's word*").
Noon	telhogholo.

English.	Sema.
North	aboulao (lit. *downwards, towards the plains*).
Nowadays	etadolo, ishitogholo.
Nowhere	kilemokaha.
Numerous	kuthumo.

O.

Oath, hear (*vb.*) ...	enilo.
Oath, take (*vb.*) ...	tushakelo.
Obey	(atsa) inyilo.
Objection	azūzu.
Obtain	itulo.
Odour	*akho*, mna, mnashusho.
Offence	atsali.
Offspring	nunu.
Often	ghwolatsūtsū.
Oil	atha (*fat*), amizū (*kerosine*, lit. "*fire-water*").
Old	ākā (*l.p.*); phuyemi (*old village as opposed to new settlements*); kitemi (*old man or woman*); *older* (*of brothers, etc.*) = akichiu.
Omen, take (*vb.*) ...	(asū) keaghelo.
On	'so, 'shou.
Once	ohto laki.
One	laki, khe (*in counting*).
Onion	atsuna.
Only	liki, aliki.
Open	'khokolo; kakevelo (*of doors*).
Opponent	kineshukemi.
Oppose	kineshuchelo.
Order (*vb.*)	asheshulo.
Ornaments	anyhemogā.
Orphan	mūghemi, meghemi.
Other	ketao; ketami (*n.*).
Outside	kalacheo.
Over	'shou, 'hu.
Overtake	hāzhulo.
Overturn	bidelaono khelo (= *turn upside down*).
Owing to (*post-pn.*) ...	'ghengnuo, 'ghe'uno.
Own (*adj.*)	'liki, kuthutha (*collective*).
Own (*vb.*)	păghalo.
Owner	păghakimi.

P.

Pain	aghimeh, agheme; (*vb.* sūlo).
Pair	athena.
Palatable	chuvike.
Pale (*from fear*) ...	palai (*you turn pale!* = *oghi palaive!*).

English.	Sema.
Palm-tree	aithobo (*sago palm*), kithūchobo (*plantain*), aochobo (*wild plantain*), amsa (*umbrella palm*), amugho (*hair-brush palm*).
Paper	kaku.
Paradise	kungumipfu (*gods' village*).
Paramour	alozhilio.
Pare	lhavelo, ayukoza lhavelo.
Parents	apa'aza.
Part (*n.*)	alyeki, alyekhe, asazhe.
Path	ala.
Pattern	ayăshi.
Pauper	kumulhomi, mŭghemi.
Pay (*n.*)	akheme (*daily wage*), atha (*monthly wage*).
Pen	kakukihepfu.
People	timikomi.
Perceive	zhulo.
Perform	shilo.
Perfume	ahotsonkwui.
Perhaps	kyŏ; tishin'ani (= "*it may be*"); kyeni.
Petty	kitila.
Pewter	akŭsaiyi (*i.e. the iron used for armlets—akŭsa*).
Phlegm (*literal*) ...	agheho.
Picture	aghongu kolhuki.
Piece	alyekhe.
Pierce	khuphelo.
Pigeon	akewo, ake'o.
Pillage (*vb.*)	atsaokebachulo.
Pinch	yĭlo.
Pipe	a*kh*thu.
Pit, pitfall	ākhwŏh.
Place (*n.*)	aă.
Place (*vb.*)	pavelo.
Plains	abou.
Planet	ayepu (*used for any large star*).
Plank	alipa.
Plant	aghatsani.
Plantain	kithūcho-ti, ketiucho-ti.
Plate	aili.
Play (*vb.*)	ghavashilo.
Please oneself	akshishilo.
Pleased	allove.
Pocket	zholabo (prob. < "jola," a foreign word = *haversack*).
Point	mutsŭsi; angu-mli (*of a spear*).[1]
Point out (*vb.*)	piyelo.
Poison	thŭghŭ; aĭchi (*for stupefying fish*).
Pole	aketsŭ.

[1] *mli* here probably = "tongue."

English.	Sema.
Pond	aĭzükuchoh.
Pool	aĭzü.
Poor (*n.*)	kumulhomi, müghami.
Pork	awoshi.
Portion	asazhe.
Portrait	aghongu kolhuke.
Post (wooden)	atsü, aketsü.
Pot	alli, ali.
Pour	(azü) lesülo, liüsülo.
Precipice	ato*kh*u.
Pregnant, be (*vb.*) ...	missichelo.
Prepare	agilikutholo.
Pretty	zhuke akevi.
Prevaricate	*see* "*shuffle*."
Prevent	kheyagholo.
Previously	kagheno.
Price	ame.
Prick (*vb.*)	kwălo, kwulo.
Prison	akoghu.
Profit	alah.
Prop (*vb.*)	chevelo, cholo.
Property	anhyemoga, păghake-nyhemoga.
Proprietor	păghakimi.
Prostitute[1]	kuthokalimi, asalhami, kusalhami.
Pull (*vb.*)	sinyhelo.
Pumpkin	ahyengu.
Punch (*vb.*)	chishilo.
Punish (*n.*)	ghemetsilo, "saza" tsülo.[2]
Puppy	atsü-ti.
Purchase (*vb.*)	khülo, külo.
Purse	ghaka-bo, wurang-bo.
Pursue	hapovelo.
Push (*vb.*)	tuhapelo, tupovelo.
Put	pavelo.
Put on (*of clothes*) ...	minilo.
Putrefy	tsüvelo.
Putrid	tsĭve.

Q.

Quagmire	anyihohoh.
Quake (*vb.*)	itailo.
Quarrel	kighi, ki'i, kiyi.
Quench (*by water*) ...	(azü) itsüvelo, itsivelo.

[1] The Sema has no exact equivalent, as there are no professional prostitutes in the Sema country.

[2] *Saza* is a Hindustani word in common use now.

English.	Sema.
Quick, be (*vb.*)	meghelo.
Quickly	mtazü.
Quietly	tseyamoshimo, tsüghümoshimono.
Quite (*adv.*)	alloko.

R.

Rafter	a*kh*u ; akhētsü (roof-tree).
Rain	tsütsügho.
Raise	pfekelo, pekelo.
Rake	akuwü.
Ramble (*vb.*)	ilyulo.
Ramrod	alika kekhepvu.
Rap	kukuzhu.
Rape (*vb.*)	tsümomo sazülo.
Raw	aku*kh*u, akühuh (*of meat*) ; akupusho (*of fruit etc.*).
Razor	akkeh.
Reach (*vb.*)	ao chopolo (= *reach and take*).
Reach	philo.
Ready	shiloa.
Reap	wolo (*with a sickle*), lusulo (*in Sema fashion, stripping the ears by hand*).
Rebellious	akhekeza.
Rebuke (*vb.*)	alomipilo.
Receive	lulo.
Recently	etadolo.
Reckon	philo.
Recline	zü'alo.
Recognise	itilo.
Recollect	'mĕlo pogozhulo.
Reconcile	alashivetsülo.
Reconciled, be (*vb.*) ...	alashilo.
Reflect	'mĕlo nizhulo.
Refusal	(inyümoke = *I don't consent*).
Release (*vb.*)	pevelo.
Remain	ngulo ; alo (*in compounds*).
Remake	shikithelo.
Remember	kumsülo.
Remote	kushoh.
Remove	ekekevetsülo.
Rent	ayegheme[1] (*what is the rent = ayegheme kije tsü kya ?*).
Rent (*vb.*)	(alu) mishichichelo.
Repair (*vb.*)	shikithelo ; shikithevetsilo (*of some absent object*).
Repeat (*of speech*) ...	etaghe pikithelo.

[1] *I.e.*, "land-price."

English.	Sema.
Report (*of a gun*) ...	alikaghagha.
Repose (*n.*)	aphipipi.
Reprimand (*vb.*) ...	alomipilo.
Reptile	lapulaghu.
Resin	asütha.
Rest (*vb.*)	aphipipilo.
Return	ilyovelo, ilyeghelo.
Revenue	ayegheme.
Reward	awogh, aghoh.
Rice	atikishi ; ana (*cooked rice*).
Rich man	kinimi.
Ride (*vb.*)	kurushou ikulo.
Rifle	kōlami'lika (*i.e.*, "*foreigners' gun*").
Right hand (*of direction*)	azheo.
Ring (*n.*)	asaphu.
Ripe	akini.
Rise (*vb.*)	ikulo, ithoulo.
Road	ala (*Naga path*) ; potila (*bridle path*) ; thogula (*cart road*).
Roar (*vb.*)	eghalo.
Rock	atho*kh*u.
Root	akuhuh (*accent on ultimate*).
Rope	akeghih.
Rotten	akütsü.
Round	chopumuloh.
Rub (*vb.*)	munulo.
Rule (*vb.*)	akeka michilo.
Rule (*n.*)	aye.
Run (*vb.*)	polo ; povelo (*run away*).
Rust	aïsah.

S.

Sacking	yekhepi (*accent on penultimate*).
Salary	atah.
Saliva	amtsazzü.
Salt	amti.
Salute (*vb.*)	aopfeketsilo.
Same	apipi.
Sand	asayi.
Sap	asüzü.
Say	pilo.
Scald (*vb.*)	azükumokhono vipiyetsilo
Scar	agüzakhu.
Scold (*vb.*)	alomipilo.
Scratch (*vb.*)	chukhalo.
Scream (*vb.*)	eghalo.
Scream (*n.*)	aghügha.

English.	Sema.
Search (*vb.*)	phuzhulo.
Seat	alaku.
Second	amithao (*of three*), pashelo (*of more than three*).
See	itulo.
Seed	atipithi.
Seize	keghalo.
Self	'liki, aliki.
Sell	zhelo, zhevelo.
Send	tsūpūlo (*of an object*), pulo (*of a person only*).
Sense	amelo.
Separate	küthutha.
Separate (*vb.*)	küthuthashilo.
Servant	akkemi, timikemi.
Serve	timikelo.
Sew	(api) tsoghulo.
Shade	akichekoh.
Shadow	aghongu.
Shake (*vb.*)	sikinlo.
Shallow	ilali.
Shame	kuzho.
Share (*n.*)	asazhe, akikizhe.
Sharp	tsügha, tsogha.
Shave	miyelo.
Shelf	alikää.
Shield	aztho.
Shiver (*n.*)	sitikokokwoi.
Shoe	apukukukwoh (*accent on ante-penultimate*).
Shoot	(alikano) kalo.
Short	yikwonhe, ikwonhei.
Shout (*vb.*)	kūtsilo.
Shuffle (*vb.*)	kopho-nyepolo, ophoh-nyepolo (*lit. stamp out earth for floors > to mark time ; to beat about the bush, prevaricate*).
Shut (*vb.*)	khalo ; mīlo, imīlo (of eyes)
Sick, be (*vb.*)	sülo (is sick = *sāni, süani*).
Side	tekhao.
Silence	kammmü.
Silver	aurang-i (= *rupee metal*)
Similar	toina, toh.
Sing	aleshilo.
Single	'liki, aliki.
Sink (*vb. intr.*)	(azülo) ilulovelo.
Sit	ikalo.
Site (*of house*)	akipfo'ä.
Skin (*n.*)	ayikwo, ayukoza.
Skin (*vb.*)	lhalo.
Skull	akütsü paghe.
Sky	atsütsü.
Slander	'zhe shipüsatselo.

English.	Sema.
Slave[1]	akughu (?); akkemi, akhemi (= *servant*).
Slap (*vb.*)	dahelo, daihelo.
Slay	ĭvelo.
Sleep (*vb.*)	züalo, zealo.
Sleepiness	aghwungu.
Sleepy, be (*vb.*)... ...	ingulo.
Shiny	inhila.
Slightly	kitla kitla.
Slip (*vb.*)	vhekevelo.
Slippery...	pepepeh, pevepeh.
Sloping	chozhoi, kohuiya.
Slow	asheshi.
Slowly	asheshino.
Smack (*vb.*)	dahelo, daihelo.
Small	kitila, kithiti.
Smell	akhokumna.
Smile (*vb.*)	nulo.
Smiling	nuketoĭ.
Smoke (*n.*)	amkhi, amchi.
Smoke (*vb.*)	a*kh*utuhu tsilo (*of tobacco*).
Snailshell	tenhakubo.
Snake	apeghi, apeghü.
Snare (*vb.*)	alicheshilo, akussüshilo.
Snatch	mukhallo.
Sneeze (*n.*)	hāchi.
Snore (*vb.*)	nhizĭlo.
Snow	morusü, mulasü.
Soap	akutsükukuchupho (*generic*)
Soft	mutsamnye.
Soil (*n.*)	ayeghi.
Soil (*vb.*)	a*kh*eneshivelo.
Son	nu, nunu.
Song	ale.
Soon	kepaiye, kei.
Sorrow	amelussah (< *amĕlo-sü-a*).
Soul	aghongu.
South	ahulao (*lit.* = *upwards*).
Sour	khammvo.
Sow (*n.*)...	awokhu.
Sow (*vb.*)	(atipithi) sholo (*sow carefully in Sema fashion*); (atipithi) hulo, pfulo (*sow broadcast in the Ao or Sangtam manner*).
Spark	amikumfa.
Speak	pilo.
Spear (*n.*)	angu.
Spear (*vb.*)	angulo ivelo.
Spectacles	anyeti-kokwopfu.

[1] No precise equivalent, as slavery is not practised by the Semas.

English.	Sema.
Spit	mussütelo.
Spittle	amthi.
Spleen	alhuchi.
Spoil (*vb.*)	alhokesáh shitsülo.
Spoon (*n.*)	atsügolesa.
Spring (*n.*)	azüpfuki.
Squat (*vb.*)	issilo.
Stammerer	amli-kutsümi.
Stand (*vb.*)	putughwo'alo.
Stand up	ithoulo, putugwolo.
Star	ayeh, ayesüh.
Starvation	kelamuke.
Starve	kelamulo.
Steal	pukalo.
Steel	ahizuh.
Steep (*adj.*)	akke, akewu.
Stick (*n.*)	asü.
Sting (*n.*)	akhïchoh (*of bees, etc.*).
Sting (*vb.*)	(akhino) kwolo (*of bees*).
Stomach	apfo.
Stone	athu.
Stop (*vb.*)	kheagetsilo (*tr.*), khealo (*intr.*).
Storm	pasapagha.
Story	kaghelom'tsa, kichim'tsa.
Stream	aghokiti, awokiti.
Straight	muzochoï.
Stranger	enami.
Straw	aliteghezhini.
Strike	helo, bulo.
String	akeghi.
Strong	chobbo, chobboï.
Subject (*n.*)	meghemi, müghemi.
Substitute	azokwo, azzokwuh.
Suck	(akechi) nyilo (*of a suckling*) ; mutzulo.
Suckle	akechipinlo.
Suddenly	mtano.
Sun	tsikinhye, ketsinhye.
Sunrise, at	tsikinhipechelo.
Sunset, at	tsikinhiluni kechelo.
Suicide	pa no kishishi pa ivike, panaliki pa ivike (*killed himself on purpose*).
Suppose	keghashilo.
Sure	kucho kucho.
Suspect (*vb.*)	'gelitoï kumsülulo (*I suspect him = niye pa gelitoi kumsüluani*).
Swallow (*n.*)	michekalhu.
Swear	tushakelo.
Sweep	kwuivelo.
Sweet	ngoinniï.

English.	Sema.
Sweetheart	'lhozhilepfu (*speaking of the female*), 'lhozhipu'u (*speaking of the male*).
Swim	azūghalo.
Swoon (*vb.*)	izuvuvulo.

T.

Tail	ashōmhi.
Tailor	apiketsoghou.
Take	lulo.
Take away	luvelo, sūvelo.
Talk	pialo, atsa pilo.
Tall	kushoh.
Tame	apoghou, apeghiu.
Tank	aīzūkucho.
Teach	shipiēlo.
Tear (*n.*)	anhyezū.
Tear (*vb.*)	sū*kh*uvelo.
Tell	pilo.
Tent	apiki.
Thief	kepukāmi.
Thin	ipumiheī (*of things*), adumekhekhiu (*of persons*).
Thing	anyemogha.
Think	kumserrūlo, kumūzhulo.
Thirst	thoghuti.
Thorn	asahu.
Thread	ayeho.
Thrifty man	akūkūtsimi, akutsūkichemi.
Through	'mtala.
Throw (*vb.*)	chelo.
Throw away	phevelo.
Thrust	khulo.
Thumb	aouloku.
Thunder	atsūtsūsū, tsūtsūküssüh.
Thus	ishi, nahi.
Tie (*vb.*)	kumshovelo.
Tighten	sūkutsū kwēshilo.
Tigress	angshuakhu.
Tipsy	shomzū.
Tobacco...	akhipi.
Tomb	akhumona.
To-morrow	thogu.
Top	amzu.
Top (*the toy*)	akētsū.
Topsy-turvy	bidelao.
Torch	asūteh (*lit.* = *millet husk*).
Touch (*vb.*)	bulo.
Track	anyepa.

English.	Sema.
Trade (*n.*)	aghüghü.
Trade (*vb.*)	alhikishilo.
Trader	alhikishimi.
Trance, go into (*vb.*) ...	izipeghelo.
Trap (*literal*)	akessüh, awufu.
Travel (*vb.*)	izuwulo (*primarily for trade*).
Traveller	aghüzumi (*primarily for trade*).
Tree	asü, abo.
Trigger	alikamoke.
Trouble	aghime.
True	kucho.
Try	pulolo, pulozhulo.
Turns, by	ketsoghüno.
Twin	kumtsapunukemi.

U.

Unbusinesslike man ...	khwoshemi (*a man who is too stupid or ignorant to trade*).
Unclean	a*kh*eni, akekheni.
Under	chilu, apeo.
Understand	chilulo.
Undo	lhapevelo.
Unequal	akemikumo.
Unripe	akupusho.
Untie	khakevetsilo.
Untrue	miki.
Up	kungu.
Up, get (*vb.*)	ithoulo.
Urine	puzho.

V.

Vagabond	pokimi.
Valley	akita.
Valuable	ame.
Vein	amunhü.
Venom (*of snakes*) ...	athiti, apeghi'thiti.
Very	alloko.
Vex	'ghimetsülo.
Village	apfu, agana.
Virgin	ililotheh.
Voice	asütsa.
Vomit (*n.*)	mughupaäke.
Vomit (*vb.*)	mughuvelo.
Vulture	alluamishikümukemeghú (= *cow-corpse-pecking-kite*).

English.	Sema.

W.

Wade	azūbalo.
Wages	atha.
Waist	achetha.
Wait	khelo.
Wake (*vb. trans.*) ...	kūtavelo.
Walk (*vb.*)	iluelo.
Wall	athobi.
Want (*vb.*)	shishilo.
War	aghū.
War, make (*vb.*) ...	agūshilo.
Warm	sukuthoī.
Warrior	kivimi.
Wash	azū kuchuvelo ; (aghi) pavelo (*wash the face*).
Watch (*vb.*)	aghūzhulo (*of village sentinels*) ; mekezhulo (*watch secretly*).
Water	azū.
Wax	aghūgha.
Way	ala (*path*).
Weak	apekekye.
Wear (*of clothes, vb.*) ...	ulo.
Weariness	aghăme.
Weave	apigholo.
Weed (*n.*)	alupi.
Weep	kalo.
Weigh	megezhulo, meghezhulo.
Weighty	mishisheī.
Weir	akhūh (*h.p.*)
Well (*adv.*)	allokeī.
Westwards, west ...	tsikinhye-kulola.
Wet (*vb.*)	putsālo.
What	kiu.
Whatever	ki'shimo.
When	kogho.
Whence	kilehina.
Whisper (*n.*)	amelotsa (*lit.* = *heart-word*).
Whistle (*n.*)	mizhi.
Why	kiushia.
Wicked man	atsalikēshimi.
Wide	akizhela, akuzhulao.
Widow, widower ...	chimemi.
Wife	anipvu.
Wild animals	teghashi.
Will	kuthoh.
Wind (*n.*)	amulhu.
Wing	akichibo.
Wink (*n.*)	anhyekutsuke.
Winter	sūsūtsala (*lit.* = *shivering time*).

English.	Sema.
Wipe	khunhuvelo.
Wish (*vb.*)	shishilo.
Witch	thumimi, thumŏmi.
With	'sa.
Withered	kimughoi.
Within	seluku.
Witness	'kualonoke, azhepfeki.
Woman	totimi; ilimi (*girl*), topfumi (*middle-aged*), kitemi (*old*). *See* "*young*."
Wood	asū.
Word	atsa.
Work (*n.*)	akumla.
Work (*vb.*)	akumla shilo; mulalo.
World	tsitsükholo.
Worry (*vb.*)	'ghimetsülo.
Worst	alhokesā-o.
Worship	(teghami, kungumi) putsalo.
Wound (*n.*)	akhūh (*l.p.*).
Wrestle	kukālo.
Write	kaku helo.
Wrong	achipishimo (*accent ultimate*); miki (*untrue*).

Y.

Yawn (*vb.*)	ahushilo.	
Year	ampeh, amphĕ; kanyeku (*last year*), kashi (*this year*), thoŏku (*next year*).	
Yearly, year by year ...	amphe amphe.	
Yesterday	eghena.	
	Male.	*Female.*
Young	apulotimi (*up to about* 14 *years*)	ililhoteh.
	apumi (15 *to* 25 *or* 30) ...	ilimi.
	ahelo (30 *to* 40) awolelo (40 *to* 50) [1]	thopfuhelo.
	muchomi (50 *to* 60)	thopfumi.
	kitemi (*too old to work*) ...	kitemi.
Younger	aitiu.	

[1] *Ahelo* and *awolelo* are also called *muchuhelo*.

APPENDIX VII

GLOSSARY

A

Ăpŏdia ... ... (<Assamese *āpădīya* = "accidental" or "causing misfortune"; Bengali *āpăd* = a calamity) applied to death by certain particular misadventures, *e.g.*, death in childbirth, killing by a tiger, loss in the jungle, drowning, killing by the fall of a tree or by a fall from a tree, death by snake-bite. These are not all regarded as "Apodia" deaths by all tribes, but the first three seem to be invariably so regarded.

B

Bison ... ... *i.e.* the wild mithan, *Bos gaurus*.

C

Chābīlī ... ... A form of currency formerly used in the Ao country and consisting of a narrow strip of iron from 6 to 8 inches long with a triangular projection at one end. Probably it represents a conventionalised spear.

Chabili ?<*chabi* = a key, pronounced *Sābīlī*.

Chūnga ... ... A section of bamboo used as a drinking vessel or for carrying water. In the latter case a length of 3 or 4 feet is used, the nodes being pierced to admit the water down to the bottom.

D

Dao ... ... A sort of bill of varying shape used both for wood-cutting and as a weapon by the tribes of N.E. India and Burmah. Sometimes spelt *dah*.

deka chăng ... ... *v.* "*mŏrung.*"

deo-bih ... ... (*lit.* "god-poison"). A very powerful and destructive fish poison made from the root of a plant growing at low altitudes.

deo-măni ... ... (*lit.* "god-bead"). A variety of bead made from a reddish-brown stone flecked with black. The stone seems to be found in Nepal and beads made from it are very highly prized by Nagas. Possibly dug from ancient graves.

The Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, volume xvi, p. 713, contains a notice by H. Piddington of the "Deo-Monnees or Sacred Beads of Assam."

dhān ... ... The unhusked grain of the rice plant, commonly called "paddy."

dhōti ... ... Loin-cloth. A strip of broad muslin cloth wrapped round the waist, drawn between the legs and tucked in in front. It forms the ordinary nether garment of Assam and Bengal.

dhūli ... ... See *dhōti*.

dobashi ... ... "One who speaks two languages," an interpreter.

dūli ... ... A large basket averaging about 5 feet in height and 2½ feet in diameter with a pointed cover. Used for storing grain by the Angamis.

E

Ekra ... ... A tall grass (probably an *andropogon*) with a stiff stem and sharp-edged leaves.

G

Gaonbura ... ... (*lit.* = village elder). The head man of a village or of a "khel" holding his appointment from Government.

genna ... ... See p. 220.

genna-bura ... ... (*lit.* = genna elder). A Naga-Assamese term used more or less indiscriminately for the four religious officials of the Angami village and for the corresponding functionaries in other Naga tribes.

H

Huluk... ... ... A black gibbon, *hylobates huluk*.

J

Jăppa... ... ... A four-footed carrying basket with a pointed lid narrower at the bottom than the middle. It is made of two thicknesses of split bamboo or cane, with a lining of bamboo leaves in between to keep out the wet. Generally from 3 to 3½ feet in height and 18 to 20 inches in diameter.

jhūm ... ... Land cultivated by "jhuming."

jhūming ... ... A form of extensive cultivation in which an area is cleared of jungle (which is burnt, the ashes being dug into the ground), and sown for two successive years. At the end of this period weeds come up too thickly for convenient cultivation, and the fertility of the soil is to some extent diminished. The land is then allowed to remain uncultivated for from five to fifteen years, at the end of which time there is a fresh deposit of leaf mould and the growth of tall vegetation has killed off the small weeds that interfere with cultivation. In jhuming only one crop is sown in the year, rice in the first year being followed by millet in the second where this cereal is cultivated.

K

Kăcheri ... ... or "cutcherry," the magistrate's court.

kăchu ... ... The arum, *Colocasia antiquorum*, grown largely as food by the more northern and eastern Naga tribes.

kang ... ... A basket wide at the top and pointed at the bottom used for carrying.

khang ... ... See *kang*.

khēl ... ... The word for an exogamous group among the Ahoms. Hence applied to the Angami *thino*, and as the different *thino* in an Angami village usually live in separate quarters, the word has consequently been applied to a subdivision of a Naga village regardless of exogamy, to which, as in the case of the Semas for instance, it has frequently no reference at all. *v.* p. 121n.

L

Lao ... ... Gourd used for carrying and storing liquor.

lengta ... ... A narrow strip of cloth tied round the waist, passing between the legs from behind and up to the waist again in front, whence it falls down again in a square flap.

M

Machān ... ... A raised platform made of bamboos split and interwoven, of simple bamboos, or of wood.

mădhu ... ... *v.* "*mŏdhū*."

mĕnitessa ... ... A cereal used in the concoction of fermented liquor—the great millet (*? sorghum vulgare*).

mīthăn ... ... The domesticated variety of *Bos frontalis*, one of the species of Indian bison.

mŏdhū... ... ... Fermented liquor brewed from rice, of which there are three or four varieties known to Nagas, viz.:—*pita modhu*, made from uncooked rice and fermented after the addition of water, a very mild drink; *kachāri modhu* and *rohi*, made from rice boiled and subsequently fermented; and *sākā modhu*, made by infusion, boiling water being poured through previously steeped and fermented rice, like the first a mild concoction.

mŏrung (or *deka chăng*) The house in which the bachelors of the clan sleep. Also used as a centre for clan ceremonies and a sort of men's club generally.

N

Nagini ... ... A female Naga.

P

Paddy... ... ... Rice growing or in the husk.

pānikhēts ... ... (*lit.* "water-fields"). Irrigated and flooded terraces for growing wet rice.

pānjis... ... ... Spikes of hardened bamboo used to impede the passage of an enemy, impale wild animals in pits, etc. They vary from eight inches to four feet in length, and when well seasoned by exposure to the weather are sharp enough to pierce the sole of a boot.

pharua ... ... An implement used for hoeing and digging and made like a spade with the blade at right angles to the handle. The term is also applied to Naga hoes.

pice ... ... A small coin roughly equivalent to a farthing.

S

Sărkār... ... ... The British Government.

serow ... ... *Nemorhhoedus rubida*, a species of antelope allied to the goat and living on jungle-clad precipices. The variety alluded to in this monograph is the Burmese or red serow. The Assamese call it *deochaguli* (= "god-goat"), probably owing to its extraordinary elusiveness.

shikāri ... ... A tracker, hunter of game.

T

Tez patta ... ... *lit.* "sharp leaf," so called from its acid and aromatic taste, the *laurus cassia*.

Z

zū ... ... Fermented liquor. (*Zu* is an Angami word)

I

INDEX TO SEMA NAMES AND WORDS

Abbreviations.

cf.	...	...	compare.
cl.	...	...	clan.
g.	...	...	'genna.'
illstd.		...	illustrated.
n.	...	...	footnote.
ped.	...	...	pedigree (following p. 144).
r.	...	...	river.
tr.	...	...	tribe.
v.	...	...	refer to.
vil.	...	...	village.

Abidela, 40, 41, 46
Aboimi, cl., 126
aboshou, 241
aboshu, *v.* 'pounding tables'
abosuhu, g., 225
Achumi, cl., 121, 122, 126, 135, 351
aghacho, *v.* 'hornbill'
aghao-pucho, 15
aghasho, 138
aghau, 64, 193, 199
aghiye, 96, 343
aghongu, 199 *sq.*, 205, 210; *cf.* 'soul'
aghü, 98, 180, 182, 214
aghucho, 174, 175, 253
aghühu, 16*n.*, 48; illstd. 12, 37, 48
aghüza, 36, 115, 361*n.*, 377; illstd. 227
Aghüza, g., 223
Ahota, 367
aichi, 83 *sq.*
Aichikuchumi, vil., 25, 163
Aichisagami, vil., 8*n.*, 33, 205, 266, 297, 298
Aina, 107
aitho, 78, 81
akawoku-pfu, 241
akedu, 115, 227*n.*, 377
akekao, *v.* 'chief'
akeshou, 240, 241
Akhape-kumtha, g., 223
akini, 61, 243
akiniu, 222
akishekhoh, 40, 41, 46, 228, 234
akumokeshu, *v.* '*lapu*'
akutsü-kegheheo, 175, 176, 179
Alapfumi, vil., 33, 113, 157, 226, 252, 256; ped. I; illstd. 64
alau, 73, 106, 160, 244
Alhou, 191, 194, 212, 328, 336
aluba, 343*n.*
Aluchike, g., 222
alulabo, 348*n.*
aluzhitoemi, 241
aluzhu, *v.* 'gang'
Amiche, 356
amiphoki, *v.* 'hearth,' *cf.* 'room'
amoshu, *v.* '*lapu*'
amthao, 216, 217, 221
amukeshiu, 138, 141, 382, 383
amushou, *v.* '*lapu*'
Amuza, g., 222
anagha, 253, 254
anga, 138, 369*n.*
angulimi, 131, 138, 143
anisü, 238 *sq.*
anivu, g., 235
aniza, 237, 313
Ann, g., *v.* '*Anyi*'
anukeshiu, 145*n.*
anulikeshimi, 145*n.*, 148
Anyegheni, g., 223
Anyi, g., 45, 223, 225
Aochagalimi, vil., 187, 243*n.*

Aokhuni, g., 222
apasübo, *v.* '*akishekhoh*'
aphile, 115, 361
apikesa, g., 218
Apikhimthe, g., 224
Apikukho, g., 218*n.*, 229 *sq.*
Apisa, g., 227, 228
Apitekhu, g., 222
Apitomi, vil., 37
Arkha, 135
arüzhu, g., 222
asah, 121
ashebaghiye, 96, 343
ashegha, 253, 25
ashepu, 79
ashipu, 216, 219
Ashonumi (phratry), 125
Ashyegheni, g., 223
Asimi, cl., 65, 113, 121, 122, 123, 124, 126, 217*n.*, 234, 235, 236, 244; illstd. 8
asükesalo, 262
Asükokhwomi, vil., 169
asükuchu, g., 217
asümtsazü, 216
asü-pusuke, 109; illstd. 100
Asüyekhiphe, g., 221
Asüza, g., 223
atheghwo, 246; illstd. 245
atsüghükulhau, 228
atsünakhi, 61, 219
atsünigha, 232*n.*
atsüpi, *v.* 'post'
Auhükiti, g., 222
Awohomi, vil., 5
Awo-Kinimi, cl., 123
Awomi, cl., 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 129, 130, 266, 350
Awonakuchu, g., 225
awou, 150, 151, 198, 216 *sq.*, 224
awupishekuchu, 44
awutsa, 93, 124, 312; *cf.* 'hornbill'
ayeh, 125, 348*n.*; *v.* 'clan'
Ayemi, cl., 122, 123, 126, 129, 130, 134, 135, 217*n.*, 238, 266, 303, 347, 348, 350; peds. II, VII
ayeshu, in medicine, 101; in oaths, 165
azazhunala, 240
Azekakemi, vil., 149*n.*
azhichoh, 98, 99, 223, 226
Azhomi, 4

Baimho, vil., 34, 169, 170; ped. V.

Champimi, vil., 253*n.*
Chekemi, cl., 122, 129
Chekiye (of Sagami), 205; (of Lukammi), 206, 207
Chesha, 125*n.*, 126, 127
Cheshalimi, vil., 5, 375; cl., 122, 124, 125, 126, 130, 131
chini, 220, *v.* 'genna'
Chipoketami, vil., 205
Chishi, 125*n.*, 126, 127
Chishilimi, vil., 5, 258; cl., 122, 124, 125, 126, 130, 350; peds. VI, VIII, XI
Cholimi (Ao tr.), 123; *v.* 'Aos'
Choliphuo, 219, 220
Chonomi (Sangtam vil.), 169
Chophi-Choli-tsa, 123
Chunimi, cl., 122, 124, 126, 377
Chuoka, 130

Emilomi, vil., 43, 128

fululu, *v.* 'flute'

Ghabomi, 4
ghapiu, 262, 410, 412; *cf.* 197, 255
Ghokwi (of Kulhopu), 204
Ghukiya, 128, 185; ped. IX
Ghukwi, vil., ped. IX
Ghulhoshe, 163
Gwovishe, 9, 170, 173, 205, 206

Hebulimi, vil., 5, 59
Hekshe (of Seromi), 71
Hezekhu (of Sheyepu), 194; ped. IV; viii; illstd. 14
Hocheli, 356, 364
Hohe, 106
Hoishe (of Yehimi), 71
Hoito (of Sakhalu), 262; ped. III; viii
Hokali, 365*n.*
Hoshomu, 123
Hotoi (of Sakhalu), 182, 249
Hovishe (of Yezami), 170
Hozeshe (of Tsukohomi), 9

Iganumi, vil., 178*n.*, 235
Ikashe (of Sheyepu), 81
Iki, 252, 315, 407
Ilheli, 177
Inache (of Baimho), 170
Inaho (of Melahomi), 27, 205, 206; (of Lumitsami), 157, 166
Inami-kusa, g., 227, 228; *v.* '*aghüza*'

Inato, 29, 41, 116, 157, 159, 161, 178, 186, 203, 206, 211, 363; ped. I; viii
Ivihe (of Aochagalimi), 187
Ivikhu, viii
Izhihe, 163

Kaka, 126
Kakhu (of Sapotimi), ped. VIII
Kamli, 178*n.*
kasupapo, 62, 220, 260
Katenimi, cl., 122, 129
ke, 279*n.*, 292 *sq.*
kekami, 152, 185
Kekheche, 363, 364*n.*
ketseshe, 73, 262
Khakho, 126
Khakholimi (or Khakhomi), cl., 122, 126, 131, 132
Khakuli, 363
Khayi, 334
*Kh*ekuvi (of Shevekhe), 182
Khoghamo, 126, 127
Kholaou, 334
Khowakhu (of Shevekhe), 48
*Kh*ozhumo (of Kukishe), 205
*Kh*uivi, vil., 204
Khupu, 28, 29, viii
Khuzhomi, cl., 122, 129
Khwonhyetsü, 96, 343
Kibalimi, cl., 122, 127, 129, 131, 218, 350
Kichilimi, vil., 131
Kichimiya, 195 *sq.*, 257; g., 221
Kileki, r., 7, 51, 59, 267
Kilomi, vil., illstd. 34
Kini-Chunimi, cl., 124
Kinimi, cl., 122, 123, 124, 125, 126 350, 377; ped. I
Kinishe, 126
kitike, *v.* 'kick-fighting'
Kitila, 212
kitimi, 107, 198, 210, 259; *v.* 'ghost'
Kivikhu, vil., 7*n.*
Kivilho (of Seromi), 130
Kiyelho (of Alapfumi), 157, 158; ped. (of Seromi), 130
Kiyeshe (or Sakhai), vil., 10, 33, 63*n.*, 128, 243*n.*, 270
Kiyetha, vil., 57
Kiyezu, 204
Kocheke (of Sakhalu), 198
Kohazu (of Sakhalu), 164, 177
Kohii, ped. XI
kohkohpfoh, 57, 58; illstd. 52, 66
Kohoto, ped. X
kolami, 353
Kolavo, 197, 212, 244
Kukihe (of Emilomi), 43
Kukishe, vil., 205; illstd. 176
Kukwobolitomi, 198
Kulhopu, vil., 204
Kumishe, vil., 25, 169
Kumtsa (of Emilomi), 43
Kumtsü, 48
Kungulimi, 132, 329
Kungumi, 191, 194 *sq.*, 212, 230, 331, 392
Kupvuhe, ped. XI
Kusheli (of Litsammi), 205, 206
Kutathu, 130

Laghepini, g., 223
Lakheokhu, g., 223
Lakomi (Sangtam vil.), 170
lapu (or *amushōu*), 71, 176, 179, 180, 214, 215, 216, 217 *sq.*, 226
Latsapa, *v.* '*Litsaba*'
Laza, 367
Lazemi, vil., 5, 6, 8, 14, 29, 34*n.*, 35, 69, 121, 124, 133, 176, 183, 236, 255, 256, 266, 268, 282, 283, 284, 285
Lhoshepu, vil., 10
li, 131 *sq.*
Like, *Likemi*, = 'Nankam,' *q.v.*
Litami, vil., 29, 34, 35, 173
Litsaba, 195 *sq.*, 223; g., 221
Litsami, vil., 4, 19, 47
Litsammi, vil., 14, 205, 206
Litsowo, *v.* '*Kolavo*'
Lizotomi, vil., 205
Lochomi, vil., 121
Lohatha (of Azekakemi), 149*n.*
Lophomi (Sangtam vil.), 4, 345
Loselonitomi, 198
Losheli, 369
Lotesami, vil., 123, 206
Lumami, vil., 256
Lumitsami, vil., 29, 157, 159, 178, 252, 256; illstd. 116; ped. I; *cf.* 'Inato'
Lumtami (=Lumakami, Sangtam vil.), 169
Luvunyi, g., 221
Luzükhu (of Baimho), 249; ped. V

Maghromi, vil., 172, 173
Melahomi, vil., 27
michikedu, 227*n.*
michisü, 165, 227
miki, 201

Mishilimi, vil., 5, 6, 15, 18, 124, 131, 132
Mishilitha, 216
Mithihe (of Vekohomi), 303, viii
Miti, g., 222
Moemi, vil., 365
Molimi, cl., 130
Mtsüli, 334
Muchomi, *v.* 'Chang'
Muchupile, 357
müghemi, 144, 145 *sq.*, 385 *sq.*
Mukalimi, vil., 131
Muromi, cl., 122, 123, 129
Muro-sipomi, cl. (unlucky), 123
Murromi, vil., 96, 207, 259
Muza, g., 222
Muzamuza, 197

narubo, 348*n.*; *cf.* 64, 125, 225
Naruto (Hill), 208, 211
Natami, vil., 121
Natsimi, vil., 6, 254, 255, 256
Nikāshe (of Aichagachumi), 25, 170
Nikhoga, 125, 126, 135
Nikhui, 170
Nikiye (of Sakhalu), 248, viii
Nivikhu, ped. X
Nivishe, 157
Nizukhu, ped. VII
Nunomi, vil., 77; cl., 122, ped. II*n.*

Pakavi, 25, 169
Philimi, vil., 149, 174, 200; illstd. 38, 245
Phusumi, vil., 149, 173, 206
Phuyemi, vil., 34
pini, 220; *v.* 'genna'
Povilho (of Sheyepu), 81
Putheli, 127, 128, 144; peds. IX, X
Puzi, 253*n.*

Rotomi, vil., 149; illstd. 34

Sagami, *v.* 'Aichisagami'
Sage, g., *v.* '*Saghu*'
Saiyi, 205
Sakhai, *v.* 'Kiyeshe'
Sakhalu, 71, 110, 164, 177, 182, 204*n.*, 205, 248; (vil.) 33, 102, 149, 198, 204*n.*, 218, 248; ped. III; illstd. 36
Sakhuto (of *Kh*uivi), 204, 205
Sanakesami, vil., 266
Sapotimi, vil., 168; ped. VIII
Satami, vil., 33, 57, 113*n.*
Seromi, vil., 6, 7, 33, 34, 34*n.*, 43, 60, 71, 105, 121, 168, 169, 257, 266, 298*n.*, 303; ped. II
Shahapfumi, vil., ped. X
shefu, 320
Shehoshe (of Litsami), 19, 20, 47, 51
Shevekhe, vil., 48, 214
Sheyepu, vil., 81, 102, 169, 194, 204*n.*, 218, 219, 249, 365; ped. IV
Shietz, vil., 169
Shikuli (of Iganumi), 178*n.*
Shikusho, g., 219, 227, 228
Shikyepu, 197
Shipvomi (Sangtam vil.), 173
Shisho, g., *v.* '*Shikusho*'
Shitzimi, vil., 50*n.*
Shiyihe (of Litsammi), 369
Shochumi, cl., 122*n.*
Shoghopu (of Litami), 29
Shohemi, cl., 122, 123, 350
shohosü, 321
shonumi, 217
Sichimi, vil., 113
Simi, 126, 219
Sishimi (or Shisimi), vil., 121
Sisilimi (or Shishilimi), vil., 131
Sotoemi, vil., 181, 218, 356
sügotsa, 80
Sukheli, 205
Sukomi, vil., 77, 128; ped. IX
Sümi, 219
Suphuo, 219, 220
Swemi (vil. = Semi, Swema), 5, 36*n.*, 59, 375, 376, 377

tafuchi, 67; illstd. 66, 254
Taloli, 197
Tapu, r., = 'Dayang,' *q.v.*
Tegha-aghuzuwu, 198
Tegha-kesa, 198
Tegha-kusa, g., 219, 226
teghami, 192 *sq.*, 195 *sq.*, 259, 340; *v.* 'spirits'
Tekhekhi, g., 223
thoghopu, *v.* 'toad'
Thoilalapi, 366
thopfughabo, 22, 102
Thumoli, 106
thumomi, 178*n.*, 213, 214, 230 *sq.*, 247, 334
thumsü, 52, 221, 321
Tichipami (or Tichimi), vil., 257
Timilhou, *v.* '*Alhou*'
Tokikehimi, vil., 58, 181
Toti-ina, vil., 259
Tsakalu, 135
tsitsogho-pini, g., 214, 222

Tsivikaputomi, vil., ped. VI
Tsukohomi, vil., 169, 205
Tsükomi, cl., 122, 129, 218, 350
Tsunimi, cl., 126
Tüghaki, 128
Tukahu, 5, 124, 253*n.*, 375
Tukhemmi, tr., 17, 19, 21; *v.* 'Kalyo-Kengyu'
Tukhepu (of Sheyepu), 102
Tukomi (=Sangtam, *q.v.*), tr., 4, 5, 8, 11, 13, 15, 17, 58, 112, 122, 124, 170, 181, 207, 219, 345
Tukophuo, 219, 220
Tushomi, 124*n.*, 345, 395
Tütsa, r.,='Tita,' *q.v.*
Tuzü, r., *v.* 'Tizu'

VEDAMI, vil., 33; illstd. 38
Vekohomi, vil., 124, 303; ped. VII
Viheshe (of Yezami), 170
Vikeshe (of Lumitsami), 157, 159, 303; ped. I
Vikhepu, 206*n.*, 303; ped. II; viii, and *v.* Frontispiece
Vikhyeke (of Tsivikaputomi), ped. VI
Vikihe (of Emilomi), 43
Vikoto (of Kumishe), 25
Visavela, g., 221
Vutahe (of Sakhalu), 198

WOKHAMI, cl., 122, 135, 350
Woremi, cl., 130
Wotzami, cl., 122, 126, 127, 129, 135, 350

YACHUMI, tr., 4, 5, 7, 8, 15, 21, 23, 25, 49, 58, 71, 99, 104, 112, 134, 176, 210*n.*, 345; (hoe) 66
Yatsimi, vil., *v.* 'Yetsimi'
yechuye, 61*n.*, 343
Yehimi, vil., 57, 71, 257, 266
yemale, *v.* 'paean'
Yemithi (of Lizotomi), 205
"Yemoli's House," 105
Yemunga (of Litsammi), 206
Yepothomi, cl., 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 130, 134, 217*n.*, 218, 234, 236, 238, 266, 267, 303, 345, 347, 348, 350; peds. III, V
yeshuye, 101
Yetsimi (Sangtam vil.), 112, 123, 130, 181
Yevetha, 181
Yezami, vil., 82, 135, 170, 356
Yezetha, illstd. 8
Yiïcho, 219
Yiïpu, 228

ZALEPU (of Kumishe), 25
Zhekiya, vil., 197*n.*
Zhetoi (of Sheyepu), 204*n.*
Zivihe, vil., 170
Zukiya (of Kulhopu), 204
Zumethi, vil., 205
Zumomi (or Zümomi), cl., 10, 48, 71, 77, 121, 122, 127, 128, 195, 197, 217*n.*, 218, 219, 234, 235, 236, 238, 243*n.*, 246, 261, 266, 267, 365, 378*n.*; peds. IV, IX, X

II

GENERAL INDEX

Abor, tr., 20, 77
abuse, terms of, 92, 480; symbolical, 411
accent, 4*n.*, 271
address, 137, 238
adjective, 276
adoption, 145, 162 *sq.*; *cf.* 388*n.*
adultery, 183, 186, 242
adverbs, 289 *sq.*
adze, 66
affinities, 4, 375
afterbirth, 233
age, 409; in genna, 90 *sq.*, 234, 237, 239; reckoned, 260*n.*, 366*n*; grades of, *v.* 409, 441, and *cf.* 'gang'
agriculture, 59 *sq.*; implements of, 63 *sq.*, 66 *sq.*
Ahoms, tr., 121
Algonquins, 380
Almighty, *v.* '*Alhou*'
alphabet, 268 *sq.*
Amazons, 96, 259
America, North, 380*n.*
Anderson, J. D., 374
Angami, tr., 3, 5, 6, 8, 11, 12, 17, 18, 19, 20, 28, 34*n.*, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41, 43, 48, 49, 59, 67, 74, 77. 78, 89, 99*n.*, 110, 121, 123*n.*, 133, 138, 139, 143, 151, 164, 193, 196, 208, 212, 216*n.*, 235, 244*n.*, 251*n.*, 253*n.*, 257, 260, 284, 285, 352, 373, 379, 380, 392, vii, xvi
animals, 213, 258 *sq.*, 400 *sq.*
animatism (of fire), 43; *cf.* 'stones'
animism, 191
ants, 124, 259, 320, 338
Ao, tr., 4, 5, 7, 13, 14, 18, 19, 24, 26, 34*n.*, 58, 67, 71, 77, 78, 85, 87, 96*n.*, 105, 113, 123, 130, 133, 134, 139, 141, 168, 172, 173, 187, 195*n.*, 197, 203*n.*, 219, 220, 229, 253*n.*, 257*n.*, 258, 352, 354*n.*, 386, 392, 393, xvi
ape, 43; as *aghau*, 193; clan, 127; and *v.* 'huluk'
'apodia,' 73, 262
appearance, 8
ἀρχηγετής, 216*n.*
aristocracy, 150, 386
armlet, 11, 12, 18, 345
arrow, 23, 107
art, 47
ashes, in genna, 70, 234; imbibed, 100; in pottery, 53
aspirate, 263, 269
Assamese, 87, 121*n.*, 266
Athenians, *v.* 'Greeks'
authorities, 373
axe, 66; battle-, 21, 181, illstd. 22; stone, 196, 257, illstd. 254

Bait, 82
Baker, E. C. S., 374
Balfour, H., 19*n.*, 42*n.*, 67*n.*
bamboo, erected, 36, 227; for heads, 165, 176; pickle, 52; as property, 68; tabued, 221, 222, 223
Barail, 375
Barnes, H. C., viii
barter, *v.* 'sale'
baskets, 55 *sq.*, 67; bride's, 241; panji, 16, 17, 24, 266
bats, 258, 259, 315
beads, 11, 17; genna, 18; brass, 58, 110; tabued, 221, 223; buried, 244
beans, buried, 244; celts and, 257; eaten, 219; game, 106; grown, 61; on mithan, 73; payments of, 217, 241; tabued, 73, 217; as tally, 160

beard, 9
bed, 39, 77, 117, 201, 243
beer (rice), 97 *sq.*
bees, 72, 259; tabued, 217; medicine, 103
bellows, 52
bells, 12; cow-, 57, 58
betrothal, 184, 239
Bhoi, tr., 64*n.*, 379*n.*
Bila-an (Philippine tr.), 380*n.*
birds, 48; battle of, 312; scaring of, 52 (illstn.); and *cf.* 'hawk'
birth, 183, 233 *sq.*; of animals, 78, 183
Bizerta, xvi
blacksmithy, 51 *sq.*
blindness, 180
blister, 101*n.*, 104
Bodo, 6*n.*, 64*n.*, 374, 378, 379
boi (or *bawi*), 385, 390
booby-traps, 171, 172
books, 232*n.*
Borneo, 106, 380
bow, 21 *sq.*, 24, 107, 171
Brahmaputra, r., 380*n.*
brain (of enemy), 214
brass, 11, 12, 53, 58, 110
Brè (Burma tr.), 63*n.*, 379
bridges, 35, 36; genna for, 35; offerings at, 253, 256*n.*
brine, in tempering, 52; in cooking, 58*n.*
Brown, R. Grant, 268*n.*
building (gennas at), 44, 45
Burier, *v.* '*lapu*'
Burma, 49, 63*n.*, 96*n.*, 374, 377*n.*, 378*n.*, 379
Butler, S. G., viii
butterflies, 211

CALENDAR, 260 *sq.*
cancer, 180, 181; *cf.* 358
cane, property in, 68, 227*n.*: weapons, 113*n.*
cannibals, 96; *cf.* 174
Carter, Dr., viii
carving, 48
castration, 71
cats, 69, 70
cattle, 37, 69, 73; damage by, 74; flesh tabued, 65, 224; keep of, 75; payments in, 162, 240; -trespass, 74; sacrificed, 227, 245; in war, 173, 174, 182
Celebes, 380
celts, 196, 252, 256 *sq.*
Census, of Assam, 25, 90*n.*, 133*n.*, 135*n.*, 187, 373; of India, 191
centenarian, *v.* 'Kiyelho'
centipede, 259
'chabili,' 58
Chàkrĭma (or Chĕkrăma), 4, 5, 6, 18, 20, 21, 48
challenge, 84, 168
Chang, tr., 4, 5, 20, 25, 43, 44, 49*n.*, 58*n.*, 63*n.*, 65*n.*, 77, 81, 82*n.*, 89, 102, 106, 107, 127, 134, 138, 139, 171, 208, 210*n.*, 211*n.*, 212*n.*, 249, 256*n.*, 258, 262*n.*, 273*n.*, 345, 363, 380*n.*, 385, 389
Changchang, Ao vil., 253*n.*
Changki, Ao vil., 207*n.*
character, 25 *sq.*, 154*n.*
charm, 252, 329, 332; -stone, 174, 253 *sq.*, 321, 328
chastisement (with nettles), 28
chastity, 183; for bees, 72; at gennas, 176, 179, 182, 183, 223, 224; for hunting, 77; for omens, 76; in war, 183; of widows. 211
Chatongbong (Sangtam vil.), 206
"Cherama," vil., *v.* 'Natsimi'
Cherechima, Angami cl., 123*n.*
chicken, *v.* 'fowl'
chief, 8, 26, 33, 37, 45, 46, 110, 121, 122, 136, 143, 144, 145 *sq.*, 150, 153, 158, 163, 185, 216, 219, 222, 236, 239*n.*, 303, 377, 385 *sq.*
chieftainship (inheritance of), 148, 149
children, treatment of, 28, 153, 186; number of, 45, 46; affected by parents' food, 90 *sq.*; suckled, 234; susceptible to spirits, 237, 239, 242; ped. X*n.*
chillies, 61, 77, 89, 96, 267; medicine, 103; smoke of, 108; symbolic, 265; as wages, 117
China, 379; Cochin-, 196
Chindwin, r., 3
Chingjarei (Tangkhul vil.), 376
Chipoketami, vil., 205
Chisang (Sangtam vil,), 169
Chongliemdi, 393
Christianity, 191*n.*, 192, 203*n.*, 213
Christian Science, 232
'chunga,' 41, 207*n.*, 224, 320, 321; illstd. 166
Churangchu (of Chisang), 169
churl, *v.* '*mŭghemi*'
cicada, 257*n.*
clairvoyance, 231, 232, 247, 248

clan, 108, 121, 122 *sq.*, 350; list, 122; inter-tribal, 134; as providing *lapu*, 217; Khoirao, 377
clappers, 57
Clarke, Dr. E. W., 195*n.*
Clarke, L. O., 393*n.*
cloths, 14 *sq.*; tabu, 18; red, 211; buried, 244
coiffure, 9, 10
colonies, 8, 144, 148, 154, 216*n.*, 385, 386
colour, 47, 49, 51
comets, 250
compensation, 74, 108
complexion, 6, 8, 9*n.*
conception, 183
conjunctions, 292
consanguinity, 131, 134; peds. II, X
consonants, 270
constellations, 62, 250 *sq.*
cornelian, 11, 17, 18
cotton-wool (in ear), 8, 10; illstd. 16
cough, 231
counting, 272*n.*, 273*n.*
couvade, 138
crab, food, 65; medicine, 102; tabued, 74; dispersed, 315, 336, 338; in Creation, 380*n.*; mother of, 401
Creation, 380*n.*
Creator, *v.* '*Alhou*'
credit, 388
crops, 60 *sq.*, 195, 216, 251, 399, and *cf.* 'grain'; charm for, 253, 254; injured by other pursuits, 55*n.*, 57, 73, 106, 107, and *cf.* 103; protection of, 65 *sq.*, 74
crossbow, *v.* 'bow'
cultivation (reciprocal), 154; *v.* 'gang'
currency, 58
curse, 216*n.*, 262
custom (genna for not observing), 35, 37

Daily life, 116 *sq.*
δαίμων, 193
Dalton, Colonel E. T., 107
dancing, 111 *sq.*, 227
'dao,' 20 *sq.*, 47, 66; in burial, 244; as currency, 58; in cursing, 262; in dancing, 112, 113; edge of, 257; genna at making, 52; in harvest, 63; sat on, etc., 180, 181; in weddings, 240
Davis, A. W., 25, 26*n.*
Dayang, r., 3, 5, 164, 212, 256, 260, 261; Valley, 6, 8, 15, 18, 33, 51, 84, 87, 149, 161, 176, 183, 266, 267, 268, 274
Dead, *v.* '*kitimi*' and 'ghosts'; abode of, 211 *sq.*, 235*n.*; anger of, 181, 182, 358, 360; disposal of, 217, 218; Hill of, 208, 209, 211; Path of, 212
Deamo, 378
death, cause of, 209, 242; customs at, 209, 234, 262; report of, 242
debt, 160 *sq.*, 389
decency (ideas on), 9, 13
decoration, 39, 47
deer, 75, 78, 79, 81, 124; and *v.* 'sambhar'
defence, 34
deities, 191 *sq.*; cheated, 244
democratic (institutions), 392
digits, 273*n.*
Dikhu, r., 17, 51
Dimapur, 378*n.*
Dimasa, tr., 378*n.*, 380, and *v.* 'Kachari'
diphthongs, 271
"dirt" (extracted), 213, 214, 231
disease, treated, 100 *sq.*, 213, 214, 218, 229 *sq.*; cattle-, 104 *sq.*, 168; cause of, 200; leopard, etc., 202; resulting from reconciliation, 180 *sq.* (and *cf.* 358, 360); words for, 397
dishes, 41
disinfection, 104
disputes (settlement of), 163 *sq.*, 182
divining, 232*n.*
division (of land), 156
divorce, 184, 186, 187, 242
docking, 71; reason for, 72
dogs, 70, 405*n.*; buried, 71, 246; bite of, 74, 101; docked, etc., 71; eaten, 104, 123; at marriage, 239; ornaments put on, 11; share of (in hunting), 75, 76, 337; tabued, 123, 217, 224; as tonic, 104; wild, 224; writing eaten by, 299
dowry, 184, 240
draughts (game), 110, 111
dreams, 247 *sq.*
dress, 10 *sq.*

drink, 97 *sq.*, 395; spirits blown from, 99, 193
drowning, 262
drum, 57
Duilong, 253*n.*
Dundas, W. C. M., 374
dung, clan tested by, 125; as disinfectant, 104; of field, 343*n.*; as medicine, 102, 103, 203; as missile, 108; of stars, 252
Dusun (Borneo tr.), 379
dye, 51; tabued, 65

Ear, ornaments, 10, 11, 17, 53, 235, 244, ("dead man's") 259; pierced, 11, 234 *sq.*, (pigs, etc.) 71, 72
earth, paths on, 164; origin from, 124, 125*n.*
earthquake, 252
eating, 97
eclipses, 250
eels (avoided, etc.), 94
eggs, in medicine, 102, 218, 230; as offerings, 221, 222, 228, 255; shells preserved, 73
'ekra,' 52, 65, 91, 102, 108
elders, Sema, *v.* '*Chochomi*'; Ao, *v.* '*Tōtar*'
elephant, 113*n.*, 336; dance, 113
elision, 267
emetic, 103, 203
Endle, Rev. S., 374, 378*n.*
epilepsy, 247
eschatology, 181, 211 *sq.*
etiquette, 97, 137, 237, 243, 247
exogamy, 122 *sq.*, 129, 130, 131, 133, 134, 183
expiation, 130, 137, 180, 181
eye (disease of), 103, 180, 231*n.*
"eye-excrement," 411

Fainting, 209
fairies, 192, 329, 331
family (affections), 29
fan (winnowing), 67
fasting, 241
fat (applied to charm-stones), 254, 321, 331
fibres (in weaving), 49
fields (tabued to owner), 233
fines, 108, 145, 163, 184, 186, 229, 239, 242
fire, -making, -stick, etc., buried, 245; death by, 262; at dances, 112; at harvest, 65; at irrigation, 226; matches tabued, 65, 180; new, 43, 179, 182, 226; in omens, 247; at peace-making, 179 *sq.*; personified, 43; precautions against, 39, 64, 68; tabu to put out, 43; in sickness, 101*n.*, 218, 230; smoke, 329, 332; source of, 43
fish, 89, 94, 305; names of, 400
fishing, 81 *sq.*, 214, 215
flesh (oath on own), 165
Flood, 380*n.*
flower, pluck (metaphor), 363, 364, 369
flute, 56, 57; tabued, 55*n.*, 57, 106
flying-fox, *v.* 'bat'
flying-squirrel, 91*n.*
food, 89 *sq.*, 396; buried, 224; cold, 360*n.*; for ghosts, 175, 176, 210, 243; in new vil., 155; tabued, 90 *sq.*, 124, 129, (at harvest) 65
fowl, 39, 46, 72, 73; at births, etc., 233, 234; buried, 245; as fine, 108; in medicine (gall of), 101, (skin of) 102, 235; plucked alive, 218; presented, 241; sacrificed, 44, 73, 175, 200, 218, 221, 222, 234, 241, 255, 347
France, 173, 248, 369; ped. X; viii, xvi
Frazer, Sir J., 191, 251*n.*, 380*n.*, and *v. infra* "Golden Bough"
friendship, 29, 228, 229
frogs, eaten, 89; repugnant, 28; tabued, 65, 94
fuel, 44, 56, 67, 68; gathered, 116
fumigation, 76, 104, 181, 245
fungi, 124; eaten, 96, 117
Furness, W. H., 244*n.*, 373

Gall, fowl's as medicine, 101; pig's as offering, 230
game, 75, 76; shared, 75, 273, and *cf.* 179; tabued, 77, 328*n.*
games, 105 *sq.*
gang, working, 116, 152 *sq.*, 183, 241
garlic, 199*n.*
Garo, tr., 6*n.*, 64*n.*, 132*n.*, 211*n.*, 262, 374. 378, 379, 380, 381, vii
gender, 275
genealogies, 144 *sq.*
genna, 220; 29, 37; of agricultural year, 220 *sq.*; *amthou*, 217; ants, 124; *anyi*, 45; apes, 91,

127; *ashipu*, 219; *asükuchu*, 217; *awou*, 216; *awutsa*, 93, 124, 128; beans, 73; bees, 72; birth, 73, 183, 233, 234; boar's tushes, 11, 78; bridges, 35; broken spoon, 95, pot, 96; building, 38, 44, 45; calendar, 260, 262*n.*; cat, 69, 70; crops, 66, and *v.* 'harvest'; dao-making, 52; death, 234, 242 *sq.*, 262; dress, 11, 18; dye, 51, 65; ear-piercing, 11, 234 *sq.*; entertainment, 227; exogamy, 130; fire, 43; fishing, 82*n.*, 88; flesh, 124; flute, 106; food, 90 *sq.*, and *v.* 'vegetables (tabued)'; fuel, 44; fungus, 124; with hair, 174; head-taking, 174 *sq.*, (against) 178, 182; hunting, 76, 77, 338*n.*; irrigation, 226; land, 156; marriage, 238 *sq.*; matches, 65, 180; migration, 154; neglect of custom, 35, 37, 198, 199; oath, 226, 227; observance of g., 117, 220; peace, 179; pigs, 71; portent, 209, 226; pots, 54, 55, 96; g. proclaimed, 150, 151; rain, 214, 215; *sage*, 150*n.*, 198; sickness, 218, 230; sign of g., 230; snaring, 80, 81; suicidal fowl, 96; tigers, etc., 77, 90, 208; tops, 106

gentians (medicine), 104*n.*

Geographical Society, Royal, 268*n.*

Germans, 369

ghost, 175, 176, 178*n.*, 198, 210, and *cf.* '*kitimi*'; of tigers, 71; of hawks, 94; fed, 176, 210, 243

ginger, 199*n.*, 201, 202, 207*n.*

ginning, 49

goats, 69, 332

go-between, 184

God, *v.* '*Alhou*'

Godden, Miss G. M., 373

gods, 191, 194 *sq.*

goitre, 8, 104

"Golden Bough, The," 28, 106, 136, 143, 191, 196*n.*, 237*n.*, 243*n.*, 251*n.*, 256*n.*

Golgotha, 176

gongs, 259

gourd, oath on, 165, 166; for heads, 176, illstd. 179; vessel, 66 (illstn.)

grain, fall of, due to jumping of frogs, 65; extravagance with, due to foods, 95, 96; as offering, 232

granaries, 36, 64, 69, 225; tabued, 233; illstd., 34

graves, 37, 243 *sq.*; in oath, 165; illstd., 245, 246

Greeks, 46, 216*n.*, 251, (Athenians) 131

Grierson, Sir George, 268, 377, xvii

guardianship, 147; of children, 186

gun, 18, 75, 171, 172

Gurdon, Colonel P. R. T., 64*n.*, 379*n*, 393.

HABITAT, 3

hair, 8, 9, 10, 180*n.*; shaved, 183; in tradition, 43; in magic, 174, 178, 259; in medicine, 101; *cf.* 'beard'; in ornament, 16, 134, 178; of dogs, (in ornament) 13, 47, (in medicine) 101, 213; of goats (scarlet), 12, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21

Hakluyt, 8, 99, 131, 187, 304

hammer (stone), 52, 424

harvest, 64 *sq.*, 196, 217, 224, 225, 348*n.*

hawk, 94, 208

head, 180; bored and hung, 175, 176, 218; substitute for, 173, 174; taken, 178, 179, 363, 364, 369; taking tabued, 178, 182; of tiger, etc., 77

head-gear, 10, 16, 18, 24

head-hunting, *v.* 'warfare,' 'head'

hearth, 39, 42, 70, illstd. 48; in fire-making, *q.v.*, 42 (illstn.)

Heaven, 212, and *v.* 'sky'

Herodotus, 265

hierarchy, 216

Hodson, T. C., 178*n.*

hoe, 63, 66, 67; given to bride's mother, 66, 241

"hog's rub," 108

hornbill, 404; *aghacho*, 16, 92, 129, 312; *awutsa*, 93, 124*n.*, 312; *shefu*, 320, 328

horns (house-), 38, 48, 227, 228; illstd. 40

hospitality, 26, 97

house, 36, 38 *sq.*; plans of, 40, 41

household, 45

huluk (ape), 315, 338; cl., 127; eaten, 91; in rain-making, 214, 215; tabued, 91, 127

hunting, 27, 75 *sq.*, 338*n.*; charm for, 254; dogs, 70; rights, 80

husband, 138, 140
Hutton, J. H., 167*n.*, 174*n.*, 268, 373, 374

Ill-treatment (in divorce), 242
impiety (consequences of), 130, 137 ; *cf.* 180
implements, agricultural, 63, 66, 400 ; household, 40, 41, illstd. 66 ; shouldered, 67, 257 ; stone, 196, 252, 256 *sq.*
Imtong-lippa (Ao), 207*n.*
incest, 131, 133
Indonesia, 379, 391 *sq.*, xvii
inheritance, 136, 145 *sq.*, 155 *sq.*
insects, as food, 94 ; soul in, 211
interest, 161
interjections, 286
interrogative, 278, 287
Irawadi, r., 379
Ireland (parallels from), 73, 103, (Donegal) 174*n.*, (Galway) 194
Iron, for burns, 103 ; in genna, 180, 181, 240 ; for striking light, 180*n.* ; oath on, 165 ; obtained, 53 ; value, 258
irrigation, *v.* ' terraced cultivation '
isolation, 104
ivory, 11, 56, 99*n.*, 107

Japvo, 3, 5, 375, 376, 380*n.*
Jevons, Dr., 233*n.*
jew's harp, 56, 57
' jhum,' 59 *sq.*, 150, 216 ; in reckoning, 260, 366*n.*
Job's tears, 60 ; brewed, 98
joke (practical), 108
jumping, 109, 113

Kacha Naga, tr., 246*n.*, 258*n.*, 376, 379, 392
Kachari, tr., 6*n.*, 48*n.*, 87*n.*, 88*n.*, 127*n.*, 374, 378, 379, 380, vii
Kalyo-kengyu, tr., 17, 19, 259, 392, and *v.* ' Tukhemmi '
Karen (Burma tr.), 63*n.*, 378
Kayan (Borneo tr.), 19*n.*, 106
keening, 246
Kemovo, 151
kestrel, 208
Keza-, *v.* Kheza-
Khabza (Ao vil.), 96*n.*
Khasi, tr., 64*n.*, 253, 360, 379*n.*, 380, 393
Khawtlang (Kuki cl.), 378*n.*
' khel,' 121*n.*, and *v.* ' *asah* '
Khezakenoma, vil., 5, 375
Khezami, 4, 6, 20, 21, 138*n.*
Khoirao, tr., 4*n.*, 6*n.*, 376, 377, 381, 386*n.*
Khoite (Khoirao vil.), 376, 377
Khongde (Khoirao vil.), 376, 380
kick-fighting, 13, 109 ; illstd. 110
Kingdon-Ward, Capt., viii
Kitsa (Yachungr vil.), 170
Koio (Lhota vil.), 212
Konyak, tr., 13, 20, 49, 100, 171, 172, 257*n.*
κόρη, 369*n.*
Kudamji (Chang cl.), 127
Kuki, tr., 250*n.*, 251*n.*, 252*n.*, 257*n.*, 258*n.*, 265*n.*, 376, 378*n.*, 379, vii ; operations against, 175*n.*, 248, 364, 392

Labour, due to Chief, 147, 148, 149, 222 ; to *awou*, 151, 216 ; to killers of pigs at *Saghü*, 224
land, rights in, etc., 144 *sq.*, 150, 155 *sq.* ; in oaths, 164 ; in natural produce of, 68, 227*n.*
language (Sema), 266 *sq.* ; 123 ; pronunciation of, 4*n.*, 266
Lania, r., 3, 6
' lao ' illstd. 66
Lappo, 377
leaves, as platters, 69 ; sign of genna, 230, and *cf.* 265, 347
leech, 256
' lengta,' 12, 13, 14, 16, 238, 259, 354
leopard, *v.* ' tiger '
leopard-cat, 308, 309, 310, 319
leopard-men, 200 *sq.*, 374
levirate, 136, 137 ; ped. I
Lhota, tr., 3, 4, 5, 6, 11, 13, 14, 17, 26, 34, 37, 45, 60, 65, 67, 75, 77, 85, 102, 105, 135, 161, 173, 175, 193*n.*, 197, 212*n.*, 231*n.*, 253*n.*, 256, 257, 258, 259, 352, 354*n.*, xvi
liaison, 246
lice, 244
life (daily), 116
lightning, 252, 257, 262 ; in oath, 70 ; spot struck by, 221
Linguistic Survey (of India), 268, 377
liver, 69, 70, 73, 175, 230
livestock, 69
Lizaba (Ao deity), 195*n.*
lizard, 66, 237, 312

loans, 160 *sq.*, 390
Longjang (Ao vil.), 172
Longsa (Ao vil.), 7, 24, 34*n.*, 123, 168
loom, 49 *sq.*
"Lozema," *v.* 'Lazemi'
Lungkamr (Ao cl.), 134
Lungtang, *v.* 'Litami'
Lungtrok, 393
Lushais, 385, vii
lycanthropy, 28, 97, 104, 200 *sq.*
Lynngam, tr., 64*n.*, 379*n.*

Magic, 174, 178*n.*, 213 *sq.*, 233
magician, 192, and *v.* '*thumomi*'
Maikel, *v.* 'Mekrima'
Mandeville, Sir J., 89, 131*n.*
Manipur, 6, 49, 107, 376
Manŏ (Burma tr.), 63*n.*, 377
manor, 144, 145 *sq.*
μαντις, 247
Maram, 376, 379
marriage, 238 *sq.*; 28, 44, 66, 130, 133, 134, 145, 183, 184, 185, 234, 331, 388, 390; bride's mother at, 66, 133, 241; mother's brother at, 137; with step-mother, 136; by exchange, *v.* ped. III
masquerade, 106
matches, *v.* 'fire'
matrilineal system, 96*n.*, 127, 128, 129, 131 *sq.*, 137
M'Culloch, Col. W. J., 107
measurements, 409; of animals, 162; and *v.* 'time'
Mech, tr., 251*n.*
medicine, 27, 91, 100 *sq.*; *cf.* 'disease'
medium, 247
Meheme (Khoirao vil.), 377
Mekrima (Memi-Angami vil.), 377, 378
Memi, 123*n.*
Mesetsü (Angami vil.), 59
messages (symbolic), 168, 265
metal work, 51 *sq.*
Mexico, 250*n.*, 380*n.*
Mezhamibagwe, vil., 7*n.*
middle (voice), 281*n.*
migration, 4, 8, 154, 193, 200, 216*n.*, and *v.* 'colonies'
Mikir, tr., 37*n.*
milk, 69; human (as medicine), 103
Milky Way, 251
millet, 61, 217; fermented, 98; carried, 64 (illstn.)
Mills, J. P., 172*n.*, 175*n.*, 193*n.*, 231*n.*, 246*n.*, 248*n.*, 249*n.*, viii
Mishmi, tr., 20
mithan, 64 *sq.*; ear cut, 182; counted as head, 174, 175; flesh given to bride's mother, 133; tabued, 224; how killed, 229; measured, 162; sacrificed, 218, 227, 228; soul of, 211; tail cut, 173, 182
'modhu,' 97
Mokokchung, 7, 96, 170, 206, 207*n.*, 249, 256, 378
money, 58, 59, 396
Mongmethang (Ao vil.), 133*n.*
monkey (fire got from), 43
monoliths, 36
Montesinos, Fernando, 254*n.*
months, 260, 261; intercalary, 260, 262*n.*
moon, 202, 249, 250, 262*n.*; in art, 48; in agriculture, 62*n.*, 220, 224; in oaths, 249; phenomenal, 226, 252
'morung' (or 'deka chang'), 37, 45, 199; illstd. 38
mother, 131*n.*, 185, 353*n.*; brother of, 137; of bride, 66, 133, 241, (tabued) 130; step-, 29, 136
mouse, 196, 253, 258, and *v.* 'rat'; field-, 403*n.*
movable property, 158 *sq.*
"Mozungjami," *v.* 'Tuensang'
mud-pies, 105
music, 56 *sq.*, 114, 370; *v.* 'flute,' etc.

Naklig, 262*n.*
names, 236 *sq.*; 132; of clans, 126, 350; of dogs, 70; for relatives, 138 *sq.*; reluctance to mention, 143, 237; connected with soul, 209, 237
Nankam (Ao vil.), 34*n.*, 132, 133*n.*, 172, 173, 179, 363
narcotics, 99 *sq.*
nature, 249 *sq.*, 407
necklace, 11, 17; tabu of, 11, 18
negation, 279
nets, 82
Ngari (Khoirao vil.), 376, 377, 380, 381
nicotine (imbibed), 100
night-jar, 309
Nihu, 205
notation, 370
noun, 274
numerals, 271 *sq.*

Oaths, 164 *sq.*; 26, 249, 250, 262; *cf.* 427 'life'; of cats, 70
offerings, to railway, 253; to stones, 256
officials, religious, 216 *sq.*; secular, 144 *sq.*, 150 *sq.*, 216, 338, 385 *sq.*
Ogle, Mr., 258
oil-seed, 61, 243
old men, 117, 163, 239, 260
omens, 42, 76, 179, 194, 195, 236, 247 *sq.*; birds, 260; eclipse, 250; rainbow, 252; stone, 255
orange, 357, 360
oratio obliqua, 295
orchid-stalk, 9, 12, 16, 20*n.*, 184
orientation, 211, 229; of dead, 247; of house, *v.* plans, pp. 40, 41
origin, 5, 375 *sq.*; of clans, 124 *sq.*, 127, 350
Orion, 62, 220, 251
ornamentation, 47, 49
ornaments, 10 *sq.*; as insignia, 178; in divorce, 187; in burial, 244, 245, 246
orphan, *v.* '*müghemi*'
otter, 310
Ourangkong (Phom vil.), 9*n.*
owl, 143*n.*
ownership (joint), of cattle, 74, 75; of land, 156

Pacific, xvii
paddy, *v.* 'rice'
paean, 115, 175, 176, 177, 248, 313, 315
panji, 16, 17, 24, 78, 168, 171; in burial, 245, 246; symbolic, 265
paralysis, 81
parents, 139, 262; and *v.* 'children'
partridge, 315, 336; -song, 112; tabued, 217
parturition, 233
paths, 35; barred, 265, 347; cleared, 223; tabued, 154, 179
patriarchate, 130
patrician (cl.), 125
patterns, 47, 49, 56
peace-making, 81, 179 *sq.*
Peale, S. E., 133, 134, xvii
pedigrees, 144
Perry, W. J., 391 *sq.*
Peru, 254*n.*
petticoat, 17, 18, 241, 353*n.*
Pettigrew, Rev. W., 268*n.*
pheasant, 72; tabued, 217
Philippine Islands, 53*n.*, 143*n.*, 379, 380*n.*
philtre, 332
Phom, tr., 9, 172, 192*n.*, 258, 273*n.*
phonetics, 268*n.*
photography (objected to), 199, 200
physique, 6, 8
pig, 46, 71, 72, 77, 98, 160, 163, 216; carried, 321, 328; eating compulsory, 223; as fine, 108; given to *amthao*, 221; sacrificed, 34, 35, 45, 155, 157, 175, 176, 217, 221, 223, 227, 228, 230, 233, 235, 239, 240, 242, 245, 255, 350; wild, 11, 61, 66
pipe, 43, 51, 100; buried, 244; of enemy, 180
pitfalls, 78, 171
'pitha modhu,' 97
pixies, 192
planet, 251, 252
Plano Carpini, Johannes de, 131*n.*
plantain (tree), 304
play, 105 *sq.*, 108
Playfair, Col. A., 64*n.*, 132*n.*, 211*n.*, 262, 374, 381
plebeian (clans), 125
Pleiades, 250, 251
Pleione, 251
poison, 232; arrow-, 23; for fish, 83 *sq.*, 215; magical, 232*n.*
polyandry, 135
polygyny, 135, 143, 185
polytheism, 191
post-positions, 288
posts, erected, 36, 227, illstd. 176; forked, 37, 228, 229, 378, illstd. 37, 116; of house (gennas for), 44, 45, 223, 224; king-, 40, 41, illstd. 48; to mark property, 69; must not sprout, 38
pots, made, 53 *sq.*, 117; washed, 97
poultice, 102
pounding tables, 37, 38, 40; illstd. 56
pregnancy (tabu during), 90*n.*
priest, *v.* '*awou*'
pronoun, 276
pronunciation, 4*n.*, and *v.* 'language'
property, 155 *sq.*; in trees, etc., 67, 68, 227*n.*; in cattle (joint), 74, 75; in game, 80, 81; division of, 136, 156 *sq.*; inheritance of, 136
propriety, 9, 13, 183, 184

puberty, 183, 238, 239
purchase, *v.* 'sale'
Purun (Khoirao vil.), 376, 377
puzzles, 107
python, 129, 197, 231, 312

QUAIL, 306, 403*n.*
quantity, 4*n.*, 271

RAILWAY (track propitiated), 253, 256*n.*
Raime (Khoirao vil.), 376
rain, caused, 214, 215; made, 213 *sq.*, 222
rainbow, 195, 252
rake, 67
Raru, 377
rats, eaten, 91; tabued, 217; and *v.* 'mouse'
raven, 143*n.*
reaper (first), 216
reaping, 63, 64, 224, 225; illstd. 64
red, 47; cloth, 211; earth, 127, 221; water, 221
relationship (terms of), 138 *sq.*, 382, 384
relative (pronoun), 278
religion, 191 *sq.*; officials of, 216
Rengma, tr., 3, 5, 6, 7*n.*, 18, 19, 253*n.*, 255; Naked, 4
reptiles, 28, 94; battle of, 312
repulsion (instinct of), 28, 90, 103
Resopu, 205
rheumatism, 81
rice, 60, 219, 222, 240; -beer, 98; tabued, 224
riot, 182
rites, 219
river, *v.* 'water'
Rivers, Dr. W. H., 143*n.*
'rohi,' 97
rooms, 38 *sq.*, 46
ropfü, 193
Russia, 99

'SAKA modhu,' 97
sale (customs governing), 160
salt, 58, and *v.* 'brine'; as currency, 58; at marriage, 239; as medicine, 104
sambhar, 21, 305, 315, 336
Sangtam, tr., 4, 5, 7, 8, 11, 13, 15, 25, 51*n.*, 57, 58, 112, 123, 124, 134, 169, 170, 180*n.*, 181, 196, 207, 219, 220, 231*n.*, 258*n.*, 345, 386
Sangtamla (women's village), 96*n.*
Sapor (Yachungr vil.), 265
scape-chicken, 262, and *cf.* 197, 412
scorpion, 401
Scythians, 265
second-sight, *v.* '*clairvoyance*'
Sema, pronunciation of, *v.* 'language'; typical, 64 (illstn.)
sentiment, 29
sex, in birth ceremony, etc., 233, 234; relations of sexes, 28, 117, 133, 183, 237, 239
Shakespear, Col. J., 377
Shans, 379
share ("the dogs' sh."), 75, 336
sheaf (last), 64
shells, as ornaments, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 47, 56, 244; as stakes, 110
shield, 24 *sq.*; in burial, 245
Shitri (Lhota cl.), 135
shrine (of corn spirit), 64
sickness, *v.* 'disease'
sieve, 67
signals (smoke), 84, 332
signs, of direction, 265, 347; of genna, 230; of possession, 69
singing, *v.* 'songs'
Singpho, tr., 259, 379, vii
sitting-place, 36; illstd. 37
skulls, of cattle, game, etc., 39, 245, 338*n.*; human, *v.* 'head'
sky, 191, 211, 230, 329, 332, 394
slang, 296 *sq.*
sleep, 200, 202
smells (obnoxious to spirits), 65, 92, 104*n.*, 199
smith, 51 *sq.*
snake, 313, and *v.* 'python'; -bite, 101; killing tabued, 90*n.*; repugnance for, 28; venerated, 256
snares, 78 *sq.*; buried, 244; rights in, 80, 81
sneezing, 209
songs, 114 *sq.*, 117, 154, 361, 362 *sq.*, 370
Sophocles, 216*n.*
Soppitt, C. A., 87*n.*, 127*n.*, 194*n.*, 374, 380*n.*
sorghum, *v. atsünakhi*
sororate, *v.* ped. X, and *cf.* I, II
Sotogorr (Yachungr vil.), 265
soul, 159, 194, 199 *sq.*, 208 *sq.*, 242 *sq.*, and *cf. aghongu*;

called, 209, and *cf.* 237; as hawk, 208, 209; of mithan, 194, 211; posthumous dangers to, 71, 94, 212, 244
sowing, 220 *sq.*, 260
spear, 19 *sq.*; abstracted, 182; in burial, 212, 244, 245; in dancing, 112, 113; first (share of), 75, 179; ornamented, 47; tempered with nettle-juice, 52
spell, 329
spider, 259; as food, 94
spindle, 49, 241
spinning, 48; tabued, 221, 223, 241; illstd., 50
spirits, 191 *sq.*; of earth, 192, 336; of crops, 64, 348*n.*; familiar, 64, 193, 194, 199; of forest, 192; of sky, 191, 257*n.*, 329, 331; in snakes, 256; in stones, 174, 253 *sq.*; -squirrel, 128, 378*n.*; in water, 253; blown off drink, 99, 193; cheated, 150*n.*, 198; children attacked by, 237, 239; communicated with, 230, 232; defied, 84; deterred, (by smells) 65, 92, 104*n.*, 199, (by smoke) 76, 104; enticed, 193; frightened, 154; inferiority of, 192*n.*, 337; in migration, 155, 193, 200; propitiated, 99, 192, 198, 199, 213, 253, 256; pursue man, 259; teacher of gennas, 226; akin to man, 128, 192, 199, 226, 317
spitting, 216*n.*, 262
spittle, 262; of fish, 87, 88; of trees, 216
spring, *v.* 'water'
squirrel, 128, 306, 308, 378*n.*
Stack, E., 37*n.*
stake, slaughter of mithan with, 229; in games, 110
stars, 250 *sq.*, 332
statue, 246
stature, 6, 8
step-mother, 29, 136
stick, cut to release life, 246; -kicking, 109; for killing, 72, 229
stitch (caused), 95
stone, axes, 196, 252, 256 *sq.*; breeding, 174, 175, 253, 255; buried, 255; -chute, 172; fighting, 253*n.*; hearth, 39; killed, 258; offering to, of, 256; pebble in genna, 234; putting, 109; in sacrifice, 229; use of, 391 *sq.*; venerated, 174, 175, 253 *sq.*; in war, 169, 172
stool (as substitute for owner), 243
suggestibility, 27
suicide, 262
Sume, 377
sun, 249, 250, 262*n.*; in art, 48; at births, 233; double, 226, 252; in eschatology, 211; in oaths, 166, 249
Swemi, vil., 5, 36*n.*, 59, 375, 376, 377
symbolism, in messages, 168, 265; in abuse, 411
syntax, 294

TAI, 379; vii
tail, docked, 71, 72; ornamental, 16, 17; as trophy (of leopard, etc.), 77
tally, of beans, 160; for heads, 176, 246; of knots, 187; of notches, 69
Taman (Burma tr.), 379
Tangkhul, tr., 21, 26, 90*n.*, 268*n.*, 376
Tartars, 89, 131*n.*
tātar (Ao elder), 96*n.*, 203*n.*
tattoo (absent), 10
tea, 97
teeth (loss of), 180, 181
tempering, 52
Tengima, 5, 6, 11
terraced cultivation, 7, 59, 214*n.*, 379
"Terufima," *v.* 'Mishilimi'
Thado, *v.* 'Kuki'
theft, 26, 64, 65, 80, 81, 182, 377, 390; detected, 231
Thewüukukwü (Angami genna), 196
thread, 58, 65, 241
thunderbolt, 196, 256
tiger, 317, 319, 336, 360; clans, 378; eclipse caused by, 250; fire discovered by, 43; flesh of, 65, 90, 208; game, 110 *sq.*; ghost of, 71, 210*n.*; hunted, 75 *sq.*; kills of, 65, 208; related to man, 128, 208, 226, 317; -men, 200 *sq.*; oaths on, 26, 165; tabu, (at harvest) 65, (on killer of) 77, 96, 344
tigress, 207*n.*, 315, 343
Ti-Ho, r., 3
time, 220; measured, 260*n.*, 366*n.*

Tita, r., 4
Tizu, r., 3, 13, 33, 212, 282, 386; Valley, 18, 36, 46, 59, 81, 88, 122, 202, 211, 241, 261, 266, 267, 272*n.*
toad, 196, 256, 257
tobacco, 99; buried, 244; as medicine, 101; -water imbibed, 100
tone, 267
tops (peg-), 105; buried, 244; tabued, 106
Toradjas (Celebes tr.), 380
torch, 42, 65, 331
totemism, 128, 129; *cf.* 124, 127
"touching meat," 173, 179, 235; *cf.* 'flower'
toys, 105 *sq.*
trade, 58, 160, 167
transfer (of property), *v.* 'sale,' 'debt'
traps (for game), 78 *sq.*
trees, death by, 262; in oath, 165; property in, 67, 68; sap of, 216; in war, 172
tribes (origin of), 352
tribute (of meat), 75, 145, 377; *cf.* 'labour'
Tuensang (Chang vil.), 363*n.*
tune, 370
Tuzu, r., = 'Ti-Ho,' *q.v.*, also 'Tizu,' *q.v.*
twins, 262, 360; ped. III
Tylor, Sir E., 191

Ungma (Ao vil.), 7, 203*n.*, 206
"Ungoma," vil., *v.* 'Iganumi'
urine, in genna, 230; in medicine, 103; in play, 105
utensils, 40 *sq.*; illstd. 66

Vachell, H. A., 248*n.*
vegetables, 61; collected, 96, 117; medicinal, 101; tabued, 61*n.*, 73, 216, 217, 233, 238, 243, 252, 344
venereal disease, 105
verb, 281
vermin, 9, 39, 83*n.*, 117, 244
village, 33 *sq.*
vitality, 27
Viyeh, 377
vocabularies, 395 *sq.*
vowels, 269 *sq.*

Wa (Burma tr.), 377*n.*
Waddell, Col. L. A., 373
wages, 58, 117, 154
Wakching (Konyak vil.), 257*n.*
war, 167 *sq.*; 26, 27, 150, 386, 387; game, 111; learnt from ants, 259; mimic, 108, and *cf.* 153, 154
warrior, 167 *sq.*; in building, 45; tabued, 175; ghost of victim fed by, 210; in weddings, 240
washing, 116; ceremonial, 182, 224, 243; of dishes, 97
water (drinking, etc.), 38, 116; crossed, 155; lifted in sieve, 201; in oaths, 164, 253; offerings to, 222, 226, 253; personified, 253; in connection with rain, 214; stolen, 155; in new village, 155, 218
weapons, 12, 18 *sq.*, 47, 178, 405; rendered ineffective, 18; washed, 224; and *cf.* 'dao,' 'spear,' etc.
weaving, 49, 50, 117; tabued, 221, 223, 241
weeding, 222
weight putting, 109
weirs, 81
well, *v.* 'water'
were-leopard, 200 *sq.*
whistle, 57
white (protecting crops), 66
widow, 136, 159, 185, 186; marriage of, 136, 185; mourning by, 210, 211; price of, 184, 185; share of, 158
wife, 138, 143, 184, 185; position of, 185, 187; qualifications of, 184
wig, 10
Williamson, N., 9*n.*
wills, 159
wind, 57, 106, 196
witch, *v.* '*thumomi*'
Wokha, 204; Hill, 208
women, appearance, 8, 28; disposition, 28; dress, 17; at fishing, 85; food of, 95; heads of, 177, 178, 363; position of, 28, 46, 183 *sq.*; rights in property, 156, 158 *sq.*; first to rise, 117; singing, etc., 114; iron staff of, 240, 244; tabued at peace-making, 179; village of, 96*n.*, 259; in war, 168, 172; as were-leopards, 203, 205, 206

wood, birds, 48 ; utensils, etc., 41
wood-louse, 259
woodpecker, 343
Woodthorpe, Col. R. G., xvii
work, *v.* ' labour '
working party (*aluzhi*), *v.* ' gang '
wormwood, 104*n.*, 108, 199
wounds, sympathetic, 204, 205 ; treated, 101, 102, 235
wraiths, 249
writing, 269, 299

YACHUNGR, tr., *v.* ' Yachumi '
yeast, 98, 102

ZOGAZUMI (Angami vil.), 48
Zubza (i.e. *Dzüdza*), r., 6

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
THE CORNWALL PRESS, LTD., PARIS GARDEN,
STAMFORD STREET, LONDON, S.E. 1.

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